

THE ART OF INDIA
THROUGH THE AGES

BY STELLA KRAMRISCH

WITH 180 ILLUSTRATIONS
IN COLOUR AND MONOCHROME

PHAIDON PRESS

THE ART OF INDIA

BY STELLA KRAMRISCH

Although the poetry and philosophy of India were discovered by Europeans over a hundred years ago, and had the most important influence, the visual arts of India remained unappreciated. While 'Sakuntala' and the 'Sermons of Buddha' were recognized as having the same stature as the writings of Sophocles or Plato, and were incorporated into every European literary tradition, the plastic arts of India were treated as if they were a pictorial supplement to the history of religion or the anthropology of a remote and alien country, of a mysterious, sensuous, exotic world.

The discovery that the arts of India have their proper place in the universal history of art remained to be made. One may, without any fear of exaggeration, claim that this book is the first in the field.

That this should be the case is due to scholars having devoted so much of their attention to problems of chronology, regional distinction and religious content that they were never able to demonstrate that Indian sculpture and architecture had the same value, judged by purely artistic standards, as Greek sculpture and the Mediaeval cathedrals.

The 180 reproductions which illustrate this book give a general survey of the art of Hindu and Buddhist India.

These photographs, most of which have never been published previously, have been collected during extensive travels and many years of research. Complex temple-towers, gracefully swaying bronze figures, splendid, rock-hewn images of gods and beasts, frescoes, decorative reliefs, monumental statues and busts are included in this selection. The student will find the detailed photographs of buildings and sculptures (some of which were taken in exceptionally difficult circumstances) as well as the eight colour reproductions of paintings, which supplement the monochrome photogravures, particularly valuable.

Continued on back flap

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OF INDIA



I. Head of Apsaras. Detail of wall painting on rock; in Veranda of monastery (cave XVII). *Ajanta, Mahārāṣhṭra.* Later part of fifth century.

THE ART OF INDIA

TRADITIONS OF INDIAN SCULPTURE PAINTING AND ARCHITECTURE

BY STELLA KRAMRISCH

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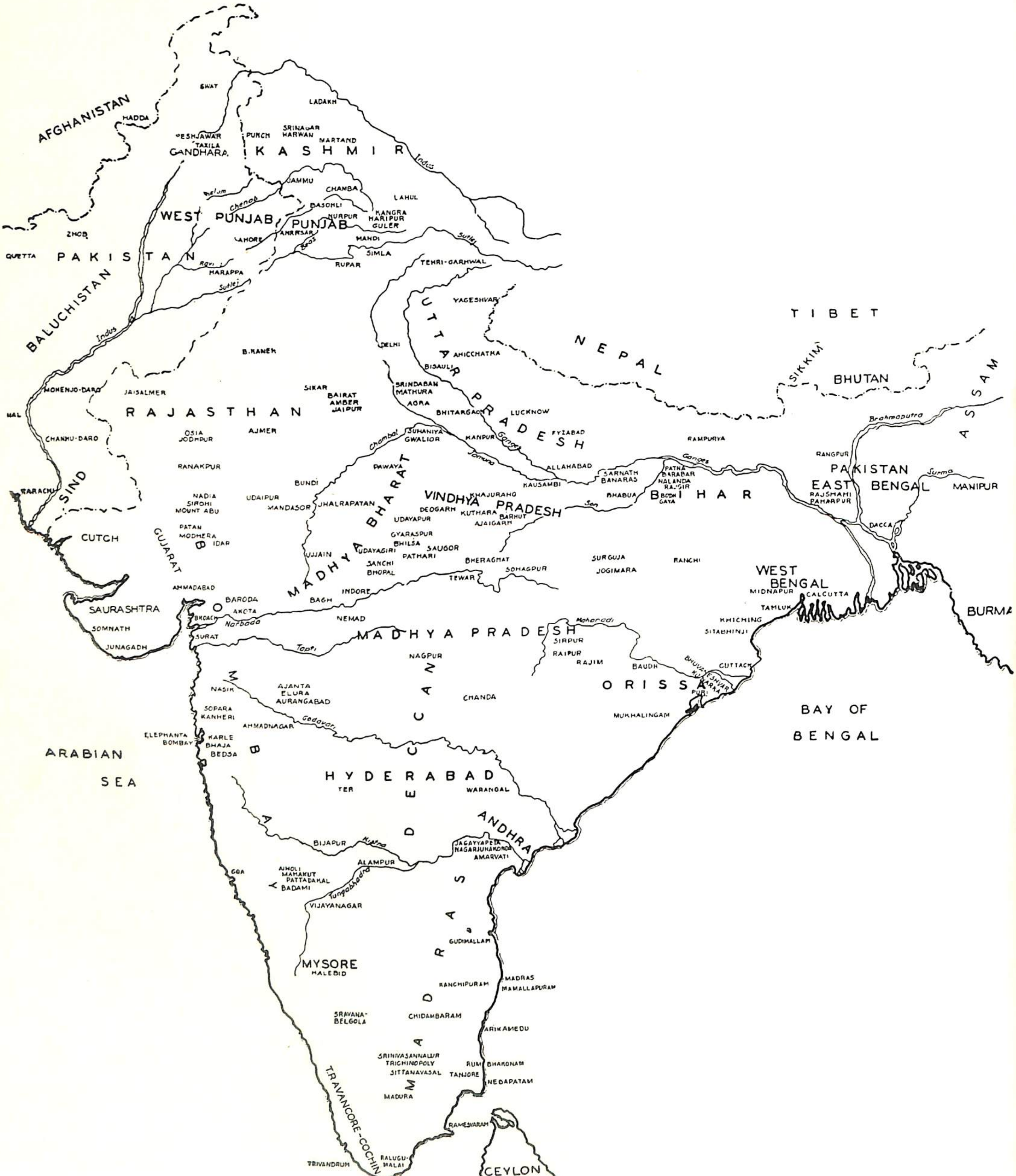
L. N.

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PRONUNCIATION OF SANSKRIT WORDS

ā, ī, ū indicate long vowels; e and o are always long, ṛi counts as a vowel as in Kṛiṣṇa, ś and ṣ indicate palatal and lingual sh. Dots below consonants indicate that they are linguals; ṅ is guttural, ñ is palatal n. On other Indian words diacritical marks are given only in a few instances.



SKETCH MAP OF SITES of the monuments mentioned or illustrated

INTRODUCTION

TRADITIONS OF INDIAN ART

An ancient Indian treatise says that art conduces to fulfilling the aims of life, whose ultimate aim is Release. The compendium opens with a conversation between a king and a sage. The king desires to learn the whole meaning of art, but is told that he must first know the theory of dancing. To this he agrees because the laws of dancing imply the principles that govern painting. But the sage further insists that the king shall begin by studying music and song,[1] for without a knowledge of all the arts, their effect in space and time cannot fully be understood, nor their purpose be achieved.

In India, the ultimate aim of life is Release (*mokṣa*), and art is one means of attaining this aim. What is meant by Release? On the negative side, it is a state of inner detachment from subservience to life in all its contingent aspects. Positively, it is the state of detachment itself, irradiated by the realization of the Absolute. The Absolute, the Supreme Principle, is beyond definition. It is known by inner realization. *Mokṣa* is a reintegration into the Absolute. There are many different modes of reintegration, and many ways of achieving detachment. All ways lead beyond civilization, but at the same time they take for granted the entire social structure, with its *Dharma* or laws of human righteousness and cosmic order, its *Artha* or accumulated wealth, and *Kāma*, the fountain springs of love and passion.

Upon this foundation, art and yoga erect a superstructure of many paths leading to the solitary peak where realization of the Absolute is imminent. From this single point of awareness of life's essential unity objects and thoughts take on a new perspective. For whether they be directed towards the summit, turned away from it, or engrossed in the pursuit of one of the three other aims, all thoughts and actions are governed by the Presence and Position of this, the ultimate aim in the structure of Indian life.

Mokṣa (Release) is not itself the Absolute. It is the realization of the Absolute within one's own living body, a mature communion which some attain (Plate 41) and of which all are aware in some degree, even although their time has not yet come (Plates 96, 26). Those who would reach it must endure a discipline, for the living, breathing human body is the place where *mokṣa* is realized. It is thus that the body is represented in Indian art (Plates 95, 81), and its scale taken as a module in Indian architecture (Plate 74, see Note). Thousands of years before they were given verbal expression in the *Veda* (the Scripture), and in *Vāstu śāstra* and *śilpa śāstra* (the textbooks on the arts) the traditions of India were embodied in the form of Indian art (Plate 1 and Figs. 1, 2, 4).

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[1]The *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III.43.38 and III.2.1–9, of the mid-fifth to mid-seventh century.

In this art, the shape of man and all subsidiary figures are ordered in accordance with a living myth. They serve as its symbols and carry out its rhythms. Architectural proportions are governed by its concepts (Plates 116, 121), which underlie the relationships of builder, patron and worshipper. There is nothing accidental in these concepts. They are known and lived, are projected and given shape, at various levels, and in varying degrees of statement and elaboration. Confronting an Indian work of art, a beholder ignorant of the tradition sees merely its form; its quality awakens in him only a vague response to the total awareness that has gone into its making.

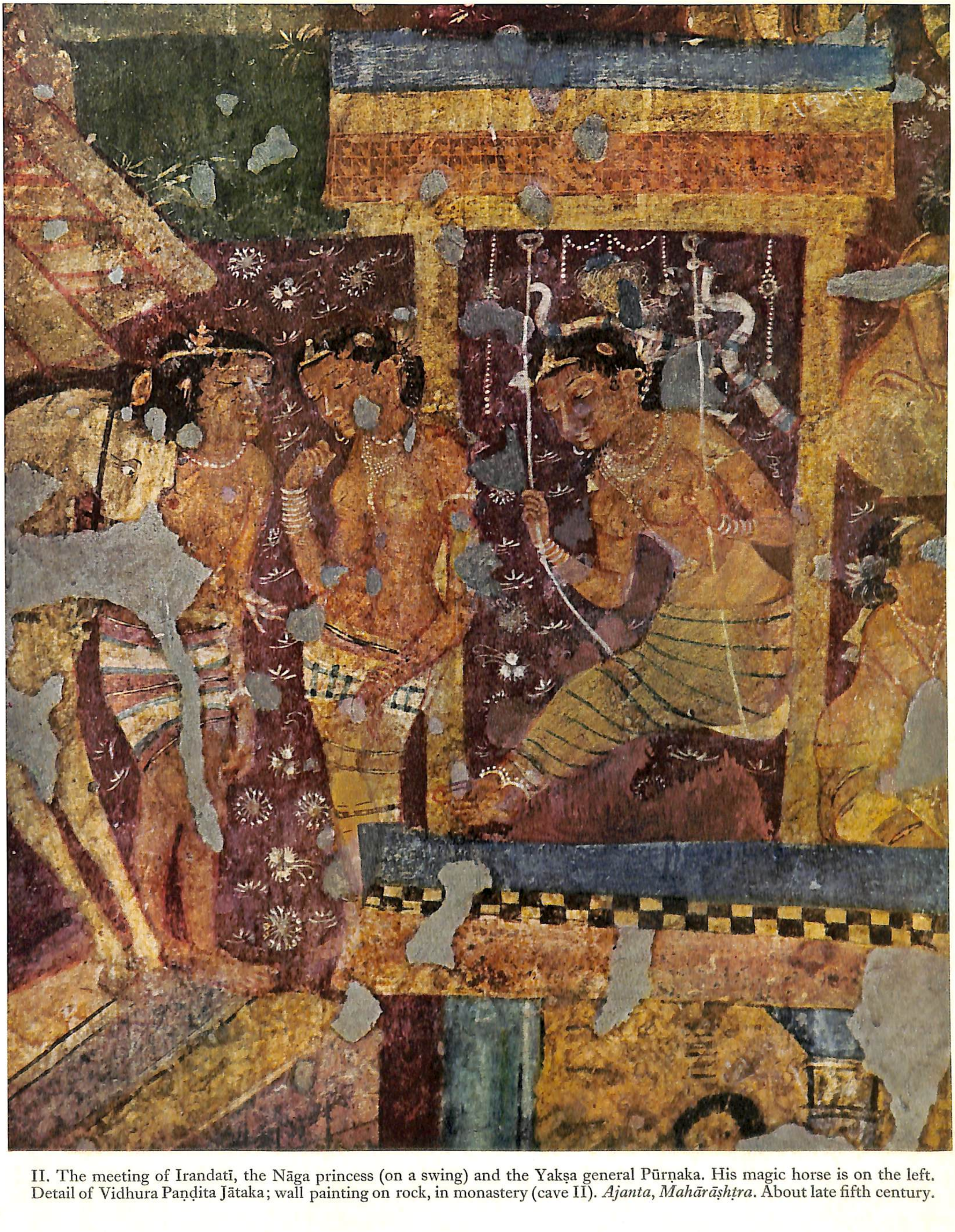
Indian temple architecture, in the fullness of its development, establishes in spatial terms an intellectual and actual approach to the Supreme Principle of which the deity is symbolic. The statue is the manifestation (*arcā-avatāra*) of the deity through a concrete work of art (*mūrti*), and the building is its body and house. Images are given shape by sculpture and painting, whose inter-relationship expresses in line, proportion and colour the love (*bhakti*) to which gods and myths owe their existence as aspects of the Absolute.

The temples and statues are so many stages in the approach to *mokṣa*. They are halting places, providing rest and support for the one unanimous Tradition, that flows through the word of the *Veda* and is borne along by the ritual in inviolable and multifold patterns. The various phases of Indian art correspond to such stages and, from the third century B.C. to the present day, more than two millennia of their history can be traced against a background remote by yet another two thousand years.

In the second half of the third millennium B.C., Indian art had passed a zenith (Plate 1, Figs. 1, 3, 4) in the large towns of the Indus valley. Between this, the most ancient art of India, and the cosmopolitan art of the third century B.C. (Plate 4), with the Mauryan Court in Pāṭaliputra (Patna), on the Ganges, as its centre, lie about two millennia wherein few monuments (Plates 2, 3) have been excavated as yet. Into this void falls the age of the *Veda*. Its hymns are rich in imagery, whereas (although accompanied by signs of a script) the images and figures of India's more remote past have no known verbal equivalents (Fig. 1). The tradition, however, remains unbroken, for the themes and forms of the art of the Indus valley during the third and second millennia B.C. are continued in Indian art when it re-emerges in the third century B.C.

The art of India is neither religious nor secular, for the consistent fabric of Indian life was never rent by the Western dichotomy of religious belief and worldly practice. Every aspect of this life is incorporated into a known hierarchy of values in the physical, psychological and metaphysical realms. In this ordered body of values, each member with its own particular function is placed in accordance with a transcendental Norm.

At the height of its architectural development (Plates 121, 87, 70 and Fig. 14), the temple was the spiritual centre from which religious and social life was regulated. It set the standard for all other buildings, which were related to and derived from its proportions, and were orientated and grouped with respect to it. Similarly, the images



II. The meeting of Irandatī, the Nāga princess (on a swing) and the Yakṣa general Pūrṇaka. His magic horse is on the left. Detail of Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka; wall painting on rock, in monastery (cave II). *Ajanta, Mahārāṣhṭra.* About late fifth century.

on temple walls represent the gods, whose proportions are based on the idealized figure of man (Plates 52, 94), while, on the other hand, the celestial countenance is reflected in the various forms of art, of which portraiture is one (Plate 111, Colour Plate VII).

Inherent in the perfected types of Indian art, including the most abstract, is the residuary essence of a profound participation in life, experienced and given form by the artist (Plates 100–102). In India, nature is violently active or overwhelmingly torpid and similarly human emotions are strong or apathetic. This parallel between external nature and the inner nature of man is reaffirmed by art. Indian art is fundamentally naturalistic. In the logic of the various schools it works like nature herself, expressing the vitality of her shapes (Plates 24–26, 94, 112; Fig. 4), evoking their very body and breath in impassioned plastic sculpture and painting, while ever forming afresh the female figure according to her stone-age type of potential motherhood.

The ancient art of the Indus valley was preoccupied with life and recaptured its surge in a modelling that was both firm and resilient. The massive male torso, in Fig. 4, is in the throes of an inner movement unfolding from the core of the body. On the other hand, when outer movement is represented in the slender figure of a dancer (Plate 1) gliding curves and clear-cut planes are intertwined in space, and follow the movement of the dance as their perpetual function. These two modes of sculpture are characteristic. In the first, the figure appears to be modelled from within, and although actually at rest, is instinct with plastic movement. In the second, the volume of the figure is distributed round its axis, and is self-contained in the intersection of the planes within the space created by the movements of the body. The massive torso gives shape to the internal life that moves within the form, keeping it tense when it is at rest. The dancing torso expresses the body's external movement that governs the unit of space and volume in which the torso exists. In other words, these two modes of sculpture, the one recording the inner unconscious movement of life within the plastic walls of the body, and the other the outer movement of the body by an act of will within the space encircled by that movement, are typically and perennially Indian. The first is the sculpture of the modelled mass, and the second that of lines and planes curved in space.

Just as Indian art is firmly rooted in nature, that is to say in the experience of its unconscious processes, which are made conscious inasmuch as they become form, so it is securely established in its social context and its supra-personal origin.

The craftsman, his patron, and the public for whom he makes the work of art are magically one, and this relationship is further supported by the fact that the craftsman is a link in the unbroken chain of the Tradition. Through his work he confirms the continued presence of the masters who once originated and now represent the various schools by which the doctrine is transmitted. Eighteen of these masters are known by name,[1] and in the texts other names are mentioned with whom no particular work can be associated. Such names show the authenticity of the tradition that carries each practitioner straight to the fountain head, the Creative Principle, to Viśvakarmā,

[1] Matsyapurāṇa, CCLII. 2–4.

himself, the Lord of all creative work, who is the spiritual ancestor of every craftsman. This is illustrated by a copperplate inscription recording the exclamation of the sculptor of the Kailāsanātha temple at Elura[1]. When the stupendous work was completed the sculptor exlaimed in wonder: 'O how did I make it?'. These words express his shock of amazement at having been the active embodiment of the creative principle. The form of the question reaffirms the tradition that art is not rooted in the ego, but exists in the phase of consciousness that, in Indian ontology, precedes the separateness of the ego and is itself the very stuff of consciousness. This phase of consciousness is called *Mahat* (The Great), wherein there is no differentiation between subject and object. The subject-object content, functioning as the active agent, is the intellect (*buddhi*). Its lucidity is neither strained by energy (*rajas*) nor dulled by inertia (*tamas*). When these begin to assert themselves, and only then, the 'I' sense (*ahaṃkāra*) makes its appearance and thenceforth the outside world.[2]

Art originates in *Mahat* and evolves in *buddhi*. Subsequently, the ego apprehends and, according to its limitations, modifies the work in progress, but it has no part in the creative process. In amazement, the ego recognizes the creative spirit when Viśvakarmā has finished his work.

Looked at in this way, the individual artist, being separate, might appear to be parted from 'The Great' and deprived of the supra-personal communion.

To the creative intellect of India the world is not object, but subject-object. Whatever part of it is seen consists of that part together with the manner in which it is seen (Plates 15, 21; Figs. 6, 11). This relationship is only the lesser aspect of the relative reality of things seen. The other aspect, Māyā (which signifies this contingent world measured out in the space that surrounds us and of which we are part)[3], is the play of the gods in which they make manifest the Absolute.

The world is seen in this twofold aspect. First, the manner in which it is seen at a particular time and place (Plates 16, 18, 139; Fig. 7). The second, presented by the artist like a play, in which the actors act, are clothed in, and reflect the splendour of the Absolute (Plates 84, 99, 103, 110; 54; Colour Plate VIII). Here the presentation follows the rules of architecture, sculpture or painting.

In Indian sculpture and painting the majority of the figures are based on the human body. Like other natural shapes, this belongs to the visible world (*dṛiṣṭa*), and is shown together with the way of seeing it. All natural shapes, whether animal, plant, or stone, are known to be instinct with life. Man's body itself, in its living, breathing integrity, is the place where the outer world is transformed. Moreover it is also the scene of the transformation of the self, that is to say of the as yet unregenerate psycho-physiological ego. In this transformed shape the self is represented in art. Thus changed it is translated into form (Plates 41, 56, 82). The transformation results from an inner process of realization. It is not visible to the physical eye; it belongs to the 'unseen' (*adṛiṣṭa*). The world of inner reality differs from the outer world but

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[1]Copperplate inscription, in *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 159; see Plates 104, 105.
[2]Sāṅkhya Kārikā (22–26) of Īśvara Kṛiṣṇa.
[3]*Māyā* comes from the root '*mā*', to measure.

could not exist without it. Art is the meeting-ground of the two worlds and, in India, relates the transformation of the inner world to that of the outer (Plates 46, 100; 29).

The Greeks made gods of their marble statues of perfectly proportioned man. In India, the discipline of yoga not only controls the physical body, but purges and rebuilds the whole living being. The human body transformed by yoga is shown free not only from defects, but also from its actual physical nature (Plates 50, 61, 85). The sensation of lightness, of release from the bondage of the physical body (Plates 68, 103, 105), induced by the practice of yoga, produces the 'subtle body'. The subtle body is filled by breath and nourished by the pulsating sap of life. It is the vehicle for states of realization above the physical state; in art, it is their receptacle, conduit and shape (Plates 24, 12, 72). The Greeks took as their ideal the disciplined, athletic physical body. The Indians took the disciplined state, or subtle body of inner realization, on which to model the shape of their images. Greek sculptors were not necessarily athletes, nor were all Indian artists yogis. In either case, training and environment equipped them with their own characteristic types and sensibilities.

In the centuries when art openly displayed its innate themes, the images were made visible in architectural monuments of which the temple was the most important (Plates 51, 66, 116). The manifestation of the gods by sculpture and painting on the body of the temple is inseparable from the actual 'structure' (Plates 121; 89, 92, 93). Without the architectural building the images lose their full effect. On the other hand, when they are lacking, the temple still retains its full significance by virtue of its plan and structure (Plate 58). There are, however, few representative edifices without sculpture in the period when temple building was at its height (seventh to thirteenth centuries). Before that time walls without sculpture were prevalent (Fig. 9). Such monuments were pure, solid geometry. Earlier still, the piled mass of the Vedic altar was built of proportional bricks, imbued with magic power and bare of any figures. In its extremely logical form, the Vedic altar could dispense even with extension in space and exist in the mind alone. It could be erected there, measure by measure, brick by brick, each unit the mind-made stuff of a metric formula. Thus, infused with the magic rhythm it occupied its place and fulfilled its function.

In later centuries, the terms *talacchanda* (metrical floor-measure) and *ūrdhvacchanda* (metrical height-measure) have been used respectively to describe the ground plan and elevation of a temple. Where sculptural and pictorial shapes are embossed from within—modelled, as it were, by the action of breath on the resilient walls of the appropriate vessel—the body (Plates 26, 68, 91; Colour Plates I, II; Figs. 10a, 11), the ultimate unit of measurement for the organizing lines in the plan of a building, is also called 'breath' (*prāṇa*). The rhythmic, breathing quality of form is the test of a work of art, for it contains the life-movement (*cetanā*) of the subject.

Although the form of Indian art is instinct with the movement of life, its limits are prescribed by concepts. The conceptual units of Indian architecture are: altar (Plate 10; Figs. 5, 14, 15), 'pillar' (Plates 58, 76, 87; Figs. 5, 14, 15), mountain

(Plates 104, 121, 151; Figs. 14, 15), cave (Plates 48, 133), enclosure (Plates 10, 87; Figs. 5, 14), and gate (Plates 10, 48; Fig. 5). Singly and conjointly, they are the themes of sacred architecture in India, as they have been in Mediterranean and Near Eastern civilizations since the days of Megalithic art. It is not the themes themselves that are exclusively Indian but their elaboration in specific materials and forms.

The various materials are employed for definite purposes, and each component has its own particular meaning. Brick, for instance, is the substance of the sacrificial altar, and therefore signifies the sacrifice itself; similarly, wood signifies the substance of the World Tree, and stone the substance of the Mountain. Each material has its own sanctity and appropriate shape, and where, in course of time, more durable materials were substituted for the original, perishable ones, the original meanings and specific forms were retained.

The Vedic altar made of piled up bricks is the earliest known sacred monument of Indian architecture. It was not intended to last for more than three generations. Its form, dating from the first millennium B.C. in the country north of Delhi, was laid down in strict accordance with Scriptural rites.

Baked brick is earth purified in the fire. The sacrificial substance retained its nominal virtue even when, in later millennia, temples were built of stone or timber, for these materials continued to be called *iṣṭakā*, which means bricks or, literally, 'belonging to the sacrifice'. The name persists even though the substance is different. Similarly the form persists throughout the history of Indian architcture as it was first shaped in brick, bamboo, or wood (Plates 10, 11, 78, 89). There is a deep meaning inherent in things that were made at the beginning of time, when men were nearer to the perfection of the Golden Age. In this age art did not exist, for men saw the gods face to face; no images or shrines were needed, nor houses for men to dwell in and hide their secrets and shame out of sight.

The intimacy of the first direct intuition clings to the old original material, and this is retained when the form is transferred from curving bamboo to logs of wood, from wood to stone, or from bricks to stone. The original meaning remained and reinforced the context when the Vedic altar came to be given its Buddhist or Jain equivalent in the *stūpa* (Fig. 5; Plate 10), which is funeral altar and cairn in one. The altar is the socle; it is usually circular, but may also be square. Within its perimeter the cairn rises like a gigantic, solid bubble, which has the significance of the World Egg (*aṇḍa*).

In the same way, the altar whence, according to Vedic rites, the sacrificial flame arose, remains the broad base for that sacrifice of devotion and skill which is represented by the temple. The original meaning of the altar, as plinth, socle, and terrace (Plate 10; Figs. 5, 14, 15), is reinforced by the detail of its superstructure. In course of time the superstructure, together with the socle, increased in height and multiplied itself. Terrace, socle and plinth (a series of altars) raise the stature of the temple, or of the sanctuary itself, like an offering that is ever renewed (Figs. 5, 14; Plates 132, 126). The altar form of the architectural ritual, repeated and elaborated in its layers so that the effect is increased and the meaning intensified, was subsequently embodied in the religious monuments that were built by architects.



III. Buddha expounding the Doctrine to Yaśas, the first lay member of the Buddhist community. Detail of a painting on rock-cut pillar in temple (cave X). *Ajanta, Mahārāṣhṭra.* Late fifth to sixth century.

The Vedic altar was the work of the Brahman sacrificer. His sole concern was his transformation through the strict performance of the rites. In later centuries when an architect had been entrusted with the architectural rites, he performed them in enduring materials for 'the sacrificer', and for all those who might use the form in the future. Indian form, as far as the devotee is concerned, owes much of its efficacy to the never-forgotten equation of form with the visible equivalent of performance. The result is a transformation of the self.

The piled horizontal mass of the altar on which the sacrificial fire had burnt became the basis and support of subsequent types of architecture where the presence embodied in the monument was worshipped. Far older even than the brick altar, terrace and socle are the unattached pillars, their shafts monoliths and permanently fixed, or else, when made of wood, stationary or movable. The science of architecture (*vāstu-śāstra*) includes movable and permanent structures, vehicles and buildings. Similarly, images are made to remain stationary or to be carried in processions. Standards, for instance, crowned by the figure of an animal, were taken in procession in Mohenjo-daro, and, in the Mauryan empire, the kings set up monolithic stone pillars, whose polished, taperings shafts were surmounted by capitals in the shapes of animals (Plate 4), signifying divinity. These pillars stood in the open, supporting no physical weight, but holding aloft the vault of heaven. Their function was to separate earth and sky so that man could move in an ordered world.

Monuments sprang up around the pillar, encasing the shaft in their solid mass. In the Vedic altar, the pillar was symbolic, rising above the figure of the Golden Man immured in the bottom layer of bricks. This golden man was the effigy of the sacrificer, whose self, transmuted by the sacrifice, was made of gold, the imperishable substance. The figure, face upwards, with the head towards the East and the sunrise, lay encased in the pile of the altar, the symbolic structure of the year and of Time. The shaft carried the 'breath' of the golden man beyond time; its highest 'holed-stone' was placed above the top layer of the altar. The shaft was more imaginary than real, the perforated stones being laid between alternate courses of bricks. Similarly, at a later period, this more-imaginary-than-real internal shaft in the centre of the monument was enclosed by the walls of the temple and the pile of its towering superstructure. Above its sheath rose the uppermost section of the pillar (Plates 58, 76, 87; Figs. 14, 15), clasped by the ring-stone called 'stainless'. The *Āmalaka*, the 'stainless', represents the door of the sun and is pierced by the shaft (Plates 132, 121, 151). In the temples of Southern India, the shaft traverses a dome-shape, whose overvault signifies heaven (Plates 70, 87, 88). Beyond the *Āmalaka* or dome, and above the high terrace of the mountain-like mass of the temple, gleams the finial, the highest point of which is co-axial with the inner imaginary pillar, which strikes the ground in the centre of the small cavity of the innermost sanctuary of the temple (Plates 132, 151).

The 'pillar' of the temple is the central theme. It is clothed in a mantle of masonry, meticulously proportioned, and having a universal meaning. This central pillar soars upwards from the ground-plan expressing the basic myth, which is laid out in the plan of the temple. The meaning of the myth is displayed in the arrangement of

the sculptures and architectural devices that form the mural texture of the bulwark of the temple. They hold the ideational pillar. It is a concept in the form of architecture, without technical origin or function.

Sacred architecture in India is solid. Where there is an internal space it is small (Plates 48, 133), like a mountain cave or the cavity in the heart. The main exceptions are the Buddhist temples which, contrary to the Hindu ritual, admitted a congregation, accommodated within their apsidal halls (cf. Plate 78)[1]. These were built in brick, wood and stone, or were hollowed out of the mountain.

Caves were at all times sacred in India. And even today an iron trident, a liṅga stone, vermilion daubs, or fluttering pieces of rag betoken the presence of Śiva in Himālayan clefts and caverns. It was late in history when cave temples, architecturally proportioned and ornamented, were first cut in the rock. This practice had a long past in Asia Minor, and was continued in India through Achaemenian contacts in the third century B.C. For more than a millennium, the themes and motifs of structural architecture were transferred and adapted to the rock, where their accepted shapes lent sanctity to their changed proportions. They had to carry the weight of the mountain and hold the mystery of the cave in order finally to evolve, in the eighth to ninth century, as the gigantic sculptural counterpart of a structural temple (Plates 104, 88).

For more than a thousand years the return to cave sanctuaries accompanied the logical continuity and development of the structural shapes. These shapes comprise those of the socle and enclosure, dolmen and spire. Compacted in the towering magnificence of the great structural temples of the centuries about the year 1000, these edifices were classified in contemporary treatises under the names of the World Mountain, Meru, and other peaks on which the gods were known to dwell.

The dark innermost sanctuary of the temple has, as a rule, one door and no windows (Plates 115, 132, 87, 58, 48; Fig. 9). It is called the *garbhagṛiha*, the 'womb-house'. This womb-chamber is enclosed and surmounted by the mountain of the temple. Therein the worshipper beholds the image and is reborn to a new life. The density of internal space in Buddhist temples (also in the large halls that precede the *garbhagṛiha*) holds between the tangible limits of walls and sculptured pillars shadows and the scent of fading flowers and burning incense, oil lamps and the exhalations of pilgrims and worshippers. The symbolic shape of the cave had come to rest in the innermost sanctuary and its darkness seeped into its surroundings. Even in the open pillared halls (Plate 131) of the temples in West and South India the weighty pillars grind the sunlight into particles that are swallowed up by the darkness between their close-set shapes.

High as the World Mountain are the mansions on whose floors dwell the hierarchies of beings. Singly, or in infinitesimal and compact replicas of the whole tower, their little houses girdle the superstructure of the temples. They enclose it level upon level (Plates 57, 87, 121, 132).

The enclosure is the most ancient shape signifying protection and possession.

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[1]In the second millennium A.D. Jain temples of Western India develop the theme of the cloister in comprehensive hall temples (Plates 133, 134).

It may take the form of a wall, railing, or cloister. The most highly evolved shape of the enclosure is the cloister of cells for monks or images to dwell in (Plate 134). In its original and essential form it was a line drawn upon the ground between the danger without and the security inside the delimited field. In its evolved shape, as the cloister, it has many versions, surrounds the premises of the temple and is also drawn into its structure as galleries and closed ambulatories. Finally it becomes a clothing for the walls and tower (Plates 57, 87).

Each of the several constituents of the temple—socle and terrace, dolmen and enclosure, pillar, ring-stone, roof-slab[1] (Plates 57, 58), and dome—invests the total structure with its original meaning. For example, the flat roof of the dolmen is retained in the early temples where the shrine is simply a cube-shaped cell, with a flat, sometimes monolithic roof, and is preceded by a flat-roofed porch (Fig. 9). When, in subsequent regional development, the larger space of an assembly hall became adjusted to the requirements of the temple, the flat dolmen-type roof of stone slabs was duplicated or further multiplied (Plate 58). It was incorporated in other types of roof construction in graded tiers, with low walls and pilasters suggesting a storeyed building. Whatever types or parts of structures are combined, their elaboration proceeds jointly and forms a complex unit growing in height and girth around one central theme. This total shape is coalesced by the rites that uphold it, and evolves logically in regional variations. In this tradition of art, where form results from practice, the rites of circumambulation (Plate 132; Figs. 5, 14) and approach (Plate 133; Figs. 14, 15) determine the disposition of the monument. It is orientated according to the nature of the divinity housed in the temple (Plate 115), and thus the building is made to face East, West or, less frequently, in other directions. The halls and accessory buildings lie in front of the entrance and lead up to it and, in the same way, their high roofs rise and fall and then rise ever higher as they near the tower of the sanctuary (Fig. 15). Their skyline, like the ridge of a mountain chain, traces the arduous journey of the mind's pilgrimage towards the highest point, the pinnacle of the sanctuary. Hence, on the superstructure of certain shrines, just below the high level of the tower, a large figure is carved out, almost in the round. This represents the royal patron who has climbed the highest peak and is now near the goal where all forms are reduced to and coincide in the unity of that point where the mind is at one with itself. The temple was built so that all eyes might follow the journey from afar, and the pilgrim's steps lead straight from the entrance to the precincts towards the innermost image or symbol. From its position below in the *garbhagṛiha* the image reflects the point on high. The approach leads from door to door (Plate 76, Fig. 17), between pillars, along the axis of the plan. The temple is orientated but has no façade (Plate 107). A monument in space, it faces in all four directions and one needs to walk around it to appreciate its bulk, the swinging curves of the *stūpa* (Fig. 5; Plate 10), or the indented perimeter (Plates 121, 132). The *stūpa* has one or more outer ambulatories. In larger temples, the walls embrace one or more inner ambulatories (Plates 70, 104; Fig. 15), so that the centre is encompassed with ever-narrowing rings.

[1]See the Liṅga pavilion in the pond (Plate 57).

In this concentric, concentrating perambulation the devotee sees the piers and recesses of the walls together with their sculptures (Plates 121–123, 126, 149). He feels their impact, as the buttresses project and display the images. These buttresses are called *ratha*, meaning chariot. It is as though they were being driven out from the centre of the monument, each buttress in its respective direction, pulling its own bulk and the images stationed thereon. This centrifugal progression of mass into space thrusts itself upon the consciousness of the pilgrim, arrests his gaze, and conveys to him the active power enshrined in the building, as manifested on each separate part of its walls. As he walks around, he sees, halts and meditates, as the images in their appointed places command his attention. He thus becomes the living, moving perimeter of the temple. The mass of the temple has its limits beyond the walls. It is full of the centrifugal movement that it engenders, and is enveloped by the encircling movement that it demands. The encompassing orbit of the total building has its analogy in the proportions and construction of the curve of the tower. It is part of the perimeter of a circle, whose radius is a multiple of the width of the sanctuary (Plates 107, 115, 132).

Although the plan of the temple is, as a rule, based on the square, the monumental architecture usually rises in curved planes in the shapes of hemisphere or dome (Fig. 5; Plate 88), vault (Plate 78) and tower or *śikhara* (Figs. 14, 15; Plate 115). Only in the South Indian style of architecture are the superstructures and roofs shaped like pyramids[1] or cones. Their shapes, except the last, are crowned with miniature dome-shapes. The preference for curves is common to Indian architecture, sculpture, and painting. They are convex, except in South India, where, in the final phase of their development, the straight ascent of the high gate towers is given a concave outline. With this reversal, the shape of the gate tower returns to the overall cast of curved outlines.

The small dome (Plate 87), which symbolizes the vault of the sky and crowns the superstructure of South Indian sanctuaries, exemplifies the principle of diminutive shape in monumental architecture. This small, domed 'chapel' is significant because of its form and nothing else, architecturally speaking, for it is solid. Such diminutive models of the 'house of God' and of its parts, especially the window (Plates 88, 89, 92, 93, 116, 121), are divested of their original functions but retain their meaning. They are made to cluster upon the body of the temple, and encircle it so that it rises studded with their striated sequences. Thus, striated in its horizontal tiers, each representing a storey (Plates 57 left; 58), the high tower of the temple—an architectural solid[2]—retains the character of the pile of the altar, and its meaning is that of the World Mountain. The same character is retained in the shape of the *stūpa*, which evokes that of the World Egg. Each symbol of the cosmos is a solid nucleus around which are gathered the multitudes of architectural themes and devices in

[1]Plate 58 represents a type whose varieties occur sporadically in the Deccan and also in Northern India (Yageśvar near Almora in the Western Himālaya; Bodh-gayā in Bihār). The conical roof of the temple belongs to the extreme South-West coast (Malabar, the ancient Kerala).

[2]From the outside only the outer shell of the tower is visible; from the inside a flat ceiling usually covers the sanctuary and hides the internal construction by tie-plates, etc.



IV. Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur. *Bijapur, Deccan; now Lallgarh Palace, Bikaner, Rājasthān.* About 1591.

various stages of development. Miniature replicas of its own shape, of several sizes, and proportioned to its scale, cling to the tower of the temple (Plates 121, 132). Little buildings, rhythmically aligned and repetitively contracted, surround it tier upon tier (Plates 70, 87, 104). Window 'ray-eyes' and roof-shapes clothe it in patterns of varied texture (Plates 107, 115, 76). All these are carried by and related to the shape of cosmological Release, which is in the likeness of the world structure. On this, man's journey is planned, step by step, towards a definite goal. All proliferations are gathered in, and reduced to, the symbol-point of the finial. The finial is above the mass of the monument and in one line with the Sign (*liṅga*) or image of divinity within the body, that stands in the central darkness of the inmost cavity of the temple.

The compacted shape of the cosmological architecture of ascent and Release is echoed by the structures of approach (Fig. 15)—the one or several halls in front of the temple, and the ambulatories surrounding it (Plates 133, 87). Such approach-structures prepared the pilgrim's mind and senses, and at the same time sheltered his body. The halls (Plates 131, 133), with their open, shady balconies (Fig. 16), were filled with chanting and music. In them the doctrine was taught, philosophic discourses held, and religious dances and mystery plays performed. Their widely projecting roofs and parapets and the open space between brought the spaciousness of the palaces into the precincts of the temples. Of these palaces, none has survived from the centuries prior to the middle of the second millennium A.D., but they, like the monasteries, were storeyed structures opening on to balconies and galleries. The form of the approach structures lies midway between temple and palace, or domestic, architecture.

The temple, whether it dominates its immediate surroundings of co-ordinated shrines (Figs. 14, 15) or city buildings, whether it towers above or is enshrined by a natural environment (Plates 88, 104, 132), absolutely requires the presence of water (Fig. 17); for in large ponds or on their banks the preparatory rites of ablution are performed. Thus there developed a water architecture in strict conformity with the style and proportions of the temple, and with all the spacious luxury that, in the third millennium B.C., surrounded the 'Great Bath' in the citadel of Mohenjo-daro. When the temple was situated far away from sea, river, or pond, the presence of water was suggested by a full jar. In one form or another, the ritual requirement had to be satisfied by a co-ordination of building and object, purpose and proportion, that is the essence of Traditional art.

A comprehensive architectural shape and monument, the temple was adorned with sculptures, which served to interpret its meaning, and to clothe its projected mass. Some of the sculptures were conceived almost in the round (Plates 88–90, 145); the majority are three-dimensional, like the buttresses supporting them (Plates 122, 92–94, 149). Sometimes the carvings are distributed in relief panels over the allotted surfaces, and this occurs especially when the monument is carved on both sides, like the unattached gates and railings of earlier periods.

For more than a millennium and a half, the temple was the centre of architectural form. Regarded as a living, growing organism, its stone-built structure reached maturity in many regional varieties from the seventh to the thirteenth century. It evolved

in one direction only, from the time when its constituent shapes were first gathered and contracted in the first half of the first millennium A.D. Before that, temples were built and images were set up as far back as the time of the early Brāhmaṇas, in the first millennium B.C. None of these buildings or statues is known to be in existence today.

When the temple, built of stone, emerged at the middle of the first millennium, its walls began, as it were, to attract to itself the arts of sculpture and painting in contemporary stages of their development (Plates 48, 51).

IN addition to their ancient past (Plates 1–3; Figs. 1–4), the arts of sculpture and painting had a long history on perishable buildings of wood and brick, on the walls of sanctuaries cut out of the rock, and on structural monuments erected by Hindus, Buddhists and Jains. A few colossal stone sculptures, which were originally set up in the open air, or inside the buildings, are in existence today (Plates 4, 5, 8). These have survived the countless sculptures in clay (Plates 6, 7), wood, ivory, and stone, and the paintings on walls, wooden panels, palm leaves and cloth, whereby the many schools carried on and shaped the traditions of Indian art. Continuity was assured by an unbroken succession of craftsmen. Where one left off, another took up, in a system of forms, and in a style, in which images, meaning and functions were interwoven.

The names are known of some of the masters who founded schools which, during many hundreds of years, adorned the spiritual map of India with temples, sculptures and paintings. Such schools are referred to in contemporary and later texts, which laid down clearly and flexibly the principles of architecture and the arts for the benefit of craftsmen. Not one of the monuments is inscribed with the name of any master mentioned in the texts, and none of the names incised in stone is referred to in them. This might seem paradoxical, were it not that the names are merely guarantees of the authenticity of the tradition. In the masters whose names are recorded (the ones who founded local schools), the flame of the *genius loci* leaped into the realm of creative inspiration. Those who inscribed their names in stone completed the paradox of anonymity when their obscure lives became merged in the perfection of their work.

In India, as elsewhere, art is the form which the artist impresses on life, but in Indian art more than in any other, form results from performance. Making a work of art is a ritual. Its magic acts on the form. By performing the rites of art, the craftsman transforms himself as well as his materials. Form, ritual performance, and transformation are simultaneous and inseparable aspects of Indian art. They are inherent in its creation, and produce their effect in its concrete shape.

The Indian artist sees the outside world with open eyes, and the inner world with his eyes closed. His vision is direct and two-fold. He sees the image by direct intuition and his conscious vision clothes it with lineaments that not only take the shape of nature, and of man and his work, but also evoke the presence of God. The many gods of India would have no existence on earth were it not for their portraits in stone and bronze, and their temples.

God is the Name, and a work of art is the body and house in which the Formless,

the Beyond-Form, the Goal of Release and Source of all Form, reveals Itself. The statues and temples are stages on the Road. The pilgrim is meant to see them as he moves from image to image and into the sanctuary, going steadily forward from the light of day into deepening superluminous darkness. He is also intended to see them as he moves around them in magic circles of recognition and understanding. Such rites of approach by movement and of circumambulation fix and define the form of the image. Whether it is enclosed only by movement or by an actual wall, the temple, India's chief work of architecture, is a gigantic sculptural monument erected in space. Sculpture proliferates on the architectural trunk. Each separate figure, empowered by the impact of the whole monument, rests poised within the curves of its own limbs. The architecture is thus given its maximum effect as a monumental sculpture enhanced by carvings and paintings.

The painted figures are modelled in colour, seemingly from within, as though their weightless yet round, modelled forms, inflated by their breathing, were being driven in surging shapes out of the background of the wall into the mural compositions. All the arts were known to be interconnected by movement, of which the dance was the specific expression. The figures in Indian sculpture and painting were given the bodies and movements of dancers (Plates 118, 117, 113, 110, 73, 68, 61, 34, 32, 27 17; Figs. 1c, 7, 11, 26) because gods, and nature in her creative aspect, were known in Indian religion and philosophy in the image of a dancer.

Visual art in India is movement translated into measured lines and masses. Breath was known as the principle of all living, moving form. It was therefore a test of a good painter that his figures should appear to breathe. In Indian art the figures are, as it were, modelled by breath, which dilates the chest and is felt to carry the pulse of life through the body to the tips of the fingers. This inner awareness was given permanent shape in art, for it was daily and repeatedly practised and tested in the discipline of yoga. It was found that by the concentrated practice of controlled breathing, an inner lightness and warmth absorbed the heaviness of the physical body and dissolved it in the weightless 'subtle body', which was given concrete shape by art, in planes and lines of balanced stresses and continuous movement. This shape, inwardly realized by yoga, was made concrete in art. Works of art in India are known as existent (*vāstu*) and concrete (*mūrti*); they can be approached, comprehended, seen and touched.

The rite of touching evokes the presence, at the spot touched, of the essence that informs the shape. This applies both to the body of man and to that of the image. In his daily rites, the orthodox Hindu touches his body all over from head to foot, especially and repeatedly at the heart and the seats of consciousness. He also touches the hands and fingers, evoking and assigning to all these points of contact the living presence of God. He thus transforms his body into a residence of the living spirit and confirms his awareness by touch. It is a realization that belongs to him alone. It cannot be shared or communicated except by the artist, who makes concrete the transformed body and externalizes it.

Like the symbols, whose indefinite ranges of significance are at the artist's command, his methods are handed down to him by tradition in terms of proportion, and other

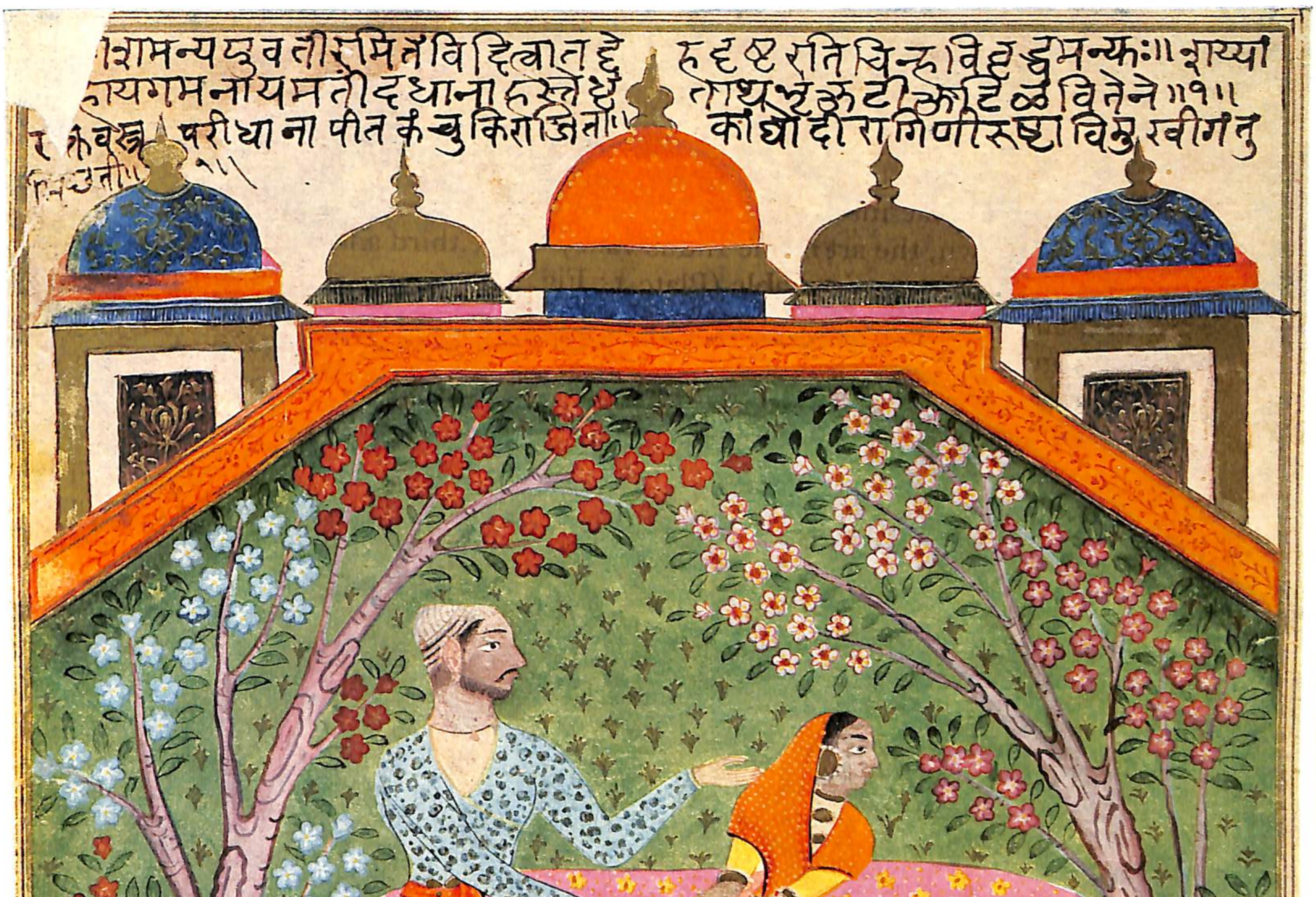
definite but adaptable principles. The means are ready for the creative artist to use whenever he gives concrete shape to the realization of the Absolute, or the stages that lead up to it. The form is intensely plastic. Breath seems to inflate and permeate the smooth shapes, the melting planes and sinuous lines, which are kept tense by an inner movement. Their firmness and elasticity vary in the different phases of Indian art, and in the many schools where their finer shades were elaborated. In the oldest phase known, the art of the Indus valley of the third and second millennia B.C., their cast of form is unmistakable (Plate 1; Fig. 4).

At the same time, another language was spoken throughout all Indian art. It was a precise language of basic shapes, geometrical signs and number symbols conveying traditional knowledge by means of clay figurines, painted pottery (Plate 2), and other ritual arts (Fig. 2; Plates 3, 6). This perennial art combines with the plastic mode in its various historical phases (Plate 11). This mode has two components, conceptual and formal. Conceptual thought defines, whereas visual thought embodies meaning. On the ancient seals of the Indus valley, animal shapes predominate over figures in the likeness of men and trees (Fig. 1a–e). Such combinations as the 'Tiger-man' (Fig. 1c), the *Aśvattha* tree of Life and Knowledge, with animals branching from its stem (Fig. 1e), the horned tiger with the tree and the woman with horns, hoofs and tail (Fig. 1a), or the bovine body with two different heads, conjured up definite meanings in their conceptual shapes (Fig. 1d). Buddhist art of the second century B.C. used similar configurations (Plates 11–14), and they are embodied in Hindu art of all periods (Plates 47, 53, 86, 123).

When Indian art emerged in the third century B.C., such traditional symbols had a cosmopolitan elegance, for Achaemenian and Ionian Greek contacts had tempered the indigenous plastic vitality. Its impact was subdued, imparting a gentle lyrical quality to embodiments of power such as the shape of the bull (Plate 4). At this phase also primeval symbols such as the post were set up in colossal size to which images of the *Yakṣa* gave anthropomorphic semblance. This semblance is but an echo of the plenitude of vital form in the art of the Indus valley (Plates 5, 8). The elaboration of primeval symbols may also be seen in contemporary figurines of the Mother Goddess, who is portrayed as an effigy constructed of simple shapes (Plate 6). Her fashionable counterpart—of unknown significance—is full of dignified assurance. Her young face with its equivocal expression is caressed by the modelling (Plate 7).

The delicate modelling of ripe experience henceforward hardens in the sculptures of Eastern and Mid-India (Plate 9). It is summarized in intersecting planes in which the masses of the face are laid out. One step further and the face withdraws behind the mask (Plates 15–18).

As in all early Buddhist art, the reliefs of Barhut in the mid-second century B.C. (Plates 15–19) show no figure of the Buddha. In this symbolic and non-iconic art, the presence of the living Buddha principle pervades the scenes that illustrate his life and doctrine, and the figures appearing in them. Their limbs sway in the flowing rhythms of the compositions, a current symbolized by the waving line of the lotus stalk (Plate 15). It carries the scenes, the fruits of all trees and the ornaments of life



V. Kāmodī Rāgiṇī. *Ahmadnagar, Deccan; now Lallgarh Palace, Bikaner, Rājasthān.* About 1595.

in the stream of consciousness, in which all beings become members of one family, moving continually in the direction of *Nirvāṇa*.

The wave is the main theme of linear composition, and the outlines of the figures are incorporated in it, whether they are seen in action in narrative scenes (Plates 15–18, 12), or in the stillness of symbolic configurations (Plates 11, 13, 19). The latter are surface designs. Like masks they protect and, to the initiated, reveal the doctrine, although the outsider recognizes only the universal patterns of sanctity. The symbolic configurations (Plate 11) are based on the same technical knowledge of foreshortening and overlapping as are the narrative scenes. This knowledge is restricted to the surface, and employed side by side with formulae of functional interrelation. These formulae of a mental perspective are also freely used in the narrative scenes. They regulate the size of the figures and objects relative to their context (Plates 14, 15, 18) while their volume is compacted in combinations of front, side and bird's eye views, and views from below (Plates 15, 16; cf. Fig. 11).

In all North Indian sculpture, and also in the S.E. Deccan (Āndhra) in the early phases (Plate 28), line is the organizing factor of plastic modelling. In the Western Deccan on the other hand, the adjoining shapes of the plastic mass appear on the surface of the reliefs as if they had emerged and coagulated there at the moment of acquiring form. The volumes increase in height and articulation in the following centuries, not only in this powerful regional school (Plates 26, 27, 36), but throughout the whole country (Plates 20–25; Figs. 6–7; Plates 29–34, 37–39).

The continuity of life, carried by the stream of consciousness, was embodied in the quality of the linear definition of sculpture, and symbolized by the wave (Plate 15). In the same way, the impact of life, that constantly fills out every shape and keeps its surface taut and resilient, appears in the plastic quality of the modelling (Plates 21–23; Fig. 6). The impact and the current of life are incorporated in Indian form, and the local schools shaped the perennial traditions by variations of their combined presence (Plate 20; Fig. 7).

From the gateways of Stūpa I at Sanchi (first century B.C., Plate 25; Fig. 6) and in the Deccan, in Karle (first century A.D., Plate 26), form is based on plastic stress (Plate 25; Fig. 6), on the moulding of the content into three-dimensional, malleable shape. As though modelled from within by one upsurging movement, the volumes acquire their characteristic form and significance. Curved planes enclose such shapes as plants, animals, and men. In more than one instance these show the influence of Greek naturalism (Fig. 6, the two horses on the right; Fig. 7). Rocks and buildings, severally and in groups, project as cubes or prisms from the ground of the relief (Plate 21; Fig. 6). Their shapes are fixed at different levels, and space is intensified by the intervals between. This building up of the 'picture space' in three-dimensional units, by a system that is the reverse of analytical cubism, uses the data and formulae of physical and functional perspective. The result is a picture of free movement in an imaginary world where fairies and genii have their being.

Indian sculpture, in its essence as creative form, is in the round (Plates 1, 25, 78, 79, 145, 155). It is monumental in its use and application (Plates 4, 5, 8, 24, 100, 125).

Although few colossal images still exist, the various styles of monumental architecture produced sculptures that were part of the total monument (Plates 87, 91, 112, 121, 122). The composite figure of the Woman and the Tree, on the East gate of the *stūpa* of Sanchi (Plate 24), seems to be swinging in space, with the rising arc of the *stūpa*'s dome and the curve of the railing at its foot. This figure is conceived as a kind of two-faced relief in space, in harmony with the bars of the gate. The latter are carved in relief on both sides, to accord with the capitals of the heavy posts. Elephants stand out against the solid prisms of these capitals, with rounded, pillar-like trunks, resembling the legs of the Tree-Woman. The principle is the same whether the figures seem to rise in a solid mass from the ground towards the surface and frame of the panels (which they frequently overlap) (Plates 22, 23; Fig. 6), or whether their rounded shapes emerge into space when the frame is absent (Plates 20, 24).

As if impelled by a driving force from within the *vyaktāvyakta* (the form-to-be), the figures seem to throb beneath the sculptor's touch. The most characteristic of such reliefs quiver with a power that drives the individual shapes in this complicated mass into their appropriate places (Plates 22, 23). Their density absorbs their movements and leaves no room for the flowing rhythms. The reliefs of the Sanchi gates are abundantly, urgently alive, and in subsequent reliefs from the Deccan, life wells up in the ample, leisurely, breathing figures (Plates 26, 27). In Northern India, the sustained driving power of the modelling seems to halt in the consciously posed sculptures of the school of Mathurā, in the early centuries A.D. (Plates 37–39).

In the five hundred years beginning with the second century B.C., narrative reliefs carved in stone are one of Buddhism's contributions to Indian sculpture. Although never shown before the late first century A.D., the Buddha inspired legends, symbols, actions and stories. In Barhut these have the simplicity of factual statements, in Sanchi, the exuberance of pageants and the form of idylls. But it was in the S.E. Deccan, in Āndhra Pradesh, during the second century A.D., that sculpture became conscious in a degree comparable to the moment prior to Realization when the Buddha abandoned the world, the luxuries of the court, and the pleasures of the senses (cf. Plate 34). The teeming compositions in Amarāvatī (Plates 33, 32, 30, 34; Fig. 8) with their innumerable figures, so slender and languorous, strong and passionate, tell the stories of the life of the Buddha in this, his last, and in former incarnations, in a mood of withdrawal from life. This one surpassing state keeps the compositions as taut as a drawn bow string. There is no release in these reliefs; the arrow is not loosed from the profusion of life and intoxicating beauty that wreathes the gestures in a design of parabolic curves. The limbs of the figures are those of dancers who reach out into the void. They bend over their mortal youth. At no other moment has Indian sculpture been so acutely sensitive.

Contacts with the classical art of the West enlarged the repertory of facial and bodily movements relating to the passing show of life (Plates 30, 31). The influence of Rome pervaded the frenzied virtuosity of Amarāvatī in the second century A.D. and remained in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Plate 35) for another century. Thenceforward faces look inwards, reflecting the conquest and imminence of Release in the mirror of

detachment, with concentrated, indrawn expressions and clarity of form (Plates 40, 41). Narrative art continues in the wall-paintings of monasteries and temples, but tuned to a minor key in a luxuriant atmosphere of calm, for example those in Ajanta (Colour Plates II, III; Fig. 11). Contemporary with the art of Amarāvatī and Ajanta are the ecclesiastical sculptures of the school of Gandhāra, in the extreme North-West of India. There, Buddhist themes are represented in a stately, if provincial, Roman manner, which based itself on the schools of Northern India, particularly Mathurā, during the second and third centuries A.D. (Plate 42). Subsequently, in the fourth and fifth centuries, the school of Gandhāra, which includes the region of the present country of Afghanistan, kept pace and was in touch with the schools of Mathurā and Sarnath. A serene and compassionate, formal and facile beauty expressive of Buddhist beatitudes made the images of the school of Gandhāra popular with the mixed population of the northern border region of India (Plates 43–45). Contrary to Indian practice, figures are covered with drapery. With the influence of the school of Gandhāra extending into Eastern Asia the folds of the garments gradually lost their Roman cast and developed into linear patterns. This transformation can also be seen in Gandhāra itself, in an early stage, on a relief from the Swat valley (Plate 42).

In India of the first and second centuries B.C., except for occasional Western accents, the faces and bodies of the figures formed a unity, whose mobility was in the general modelling (Plates 12, 20, 21). It supported the figures in their various postures and set their contacts, as well as the rounded surfaces of their limbs, aglow with life. By their presence and actions the figures illustrated scenes whose meaning referred to the Buddha. The form of the compositions showed the consciousness of life, its slow, calm rhythm (Plates 15, 18) and sparkling urgency (Plates 22, 23; Figs. 6, 7). In the second century A.D., especially in Amarāvatī, the appearance of the figures was recast; their movements seemed to carry them beyond themselves, and their glances were full of meaning. In this moment of emotional awakening and participation in the life and mission of Him who had gone beyond all form, the image began to replace the symbol (cf. Plates 16, 41). This was a slow process, as slow as that in which the mask took on the impression of will-power, emotion, and abstract, transforming thought (cf. Plates 15–18, 31, 33, 35, 40, 41).

The image that replaced the symbol became marked by symbols. The image in the shape of man became the symbol's field of power. The shape which carried the symbolic signs became transformed by the power of their meaning. This was absorbed and sustained by the form that both carried and replaced the symbols (Plates 41, 46, 52). Their meaning flowed into the postures and gestures, their holy numbers were repeated in canons of proportional measurement. The likeness of man became merged into the presence of God. Having absorbed the forms of breathing life and the symbols of abstract meaning, their union was sealed by the inward look of the countenance (Plate 50). Holding its breath, the body pauses, while over its face comes an expression of listening to the stillness of life that is at one with itself. Simplified planes and pure lines convey tensions and degrees of self-absorption and Realization (Plates 40, 49).

A form and visage resulting from conscious discipline and from psychological awareness had ripened in the school of Mathurā after the second century A.D. (cf. Plate 40). The fourth-century Buddha image from Bodh-gayā (Plate 41) is the master achievement. It is a summing up of art and theology, as developed in Northern India, with the school of Mathurā as its centre.

Indian sculpture in its maturity during the fourth to eighth centuries is the concrete form of the gods, a realization by perceptible means of their causal bodies (Plates 46, 100) and active presence (Plates 47, 105). Their shape is modelled on states of inner awareness; their movements engender cosmic myths. They are played on the stage of the human heart. Each gesture has an abiding meaning, each posture has its place not only in the temple, but also in the sculptures which have cosmic myths for their themes. Buddhist images have now become configurations of silence, in which actions are held in suspense by the gesture of a hand or the crook of a finger. Hindu images are charged with holy power (Plates 47, 52); their actions are carried by their myth and unfold with its meaning. The two kinds of form, the one Buddhist and Jain and the other Hindu, co-exist in the styles of the various regional schools. All the faces in Indian art, whether of gods or men, henceforward show their transmundane orientation or florescence in planes whose arches intersect in curves of high tension (Plates 55, 56, 96). The school of Sarnath, by the fifth century, had surpassed Mathurā in the art of making Buddhist images. With an increasing refinement of clear-cut shapes and merging planes it established once and for all the features of the Buddha (Plate 50). By the end of the sixth century these features had become stereotyped.

In the Deccan, the Hindu gods were brought to light from measureless depths of rock, in caves charged with the magic power of their images (Plates 98–100, 103, Fig. 10). In Buddhist cave-temples the figures loom in their intensely still grandeur (Plates 96, 97). The spirit of Buddhahood pervaded their quality, and restrained their variations in centuries when the wind of creative imagination fanned the flame (extinct in *Nirvāṇa*), with visions of cosmogonic significance.

Realizations put into words by seers and sages at various times in the history of India took shape across the centuries. It was only about a thousand years after Buddha that Buddhahood was formed in his image (Plate 41). In the intervening centuries, world order under the aspect of the Buddha was given the *stūpa* as its monument (Fig. 5; Plates 10, 11). Later, by the second century A.D., the Buddha image took shape, it was the moment when art awakened with an archaic smile (Plate 29) from a past of symbols and legends. Sculpture was not then ready to make the cast of the face of *Nirvāṇa* or of *Mokṣa*.

The traditions of the arts are handed down in the same framework as the verbal tradition. Once they are put into words the timeless themes persist, and are shaped in the traditions of the arts when the artist throws his total sensibility into his work. It is guided into channels which are themselves incessantly being reshaped. Ethnical heritage, cultural levels, and regional conditions are the determining factors. The traditions expand and contract.



VI. Virahiṇī (?). *Basohli, Western Himālaya; now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.* Beginning of eighteenth century.

It was pre-eminently in the Deccan and in the regions approximately to the north of it, from the fifth to the eighth century, that the power which is in the Word was first made manifest in form (Plates 46, 100). The themes are represented as myths, and their actors are described in detail in the *Purāṇas* (Plates 47, 51, 62–65). The different versions of these ancient myths are nearly contemporary with the sculptures in which they are portrayed (cf. Plates 51, 62, 84; Fig. 10).

During the three or four centuries of India's greatest sculpture, the reigning dynasties were the Guptas in the north, the Vākāṭakas, Cālukyas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the Deccan, and the Pallavas in the south. By causing monuments to be built, the royal patrons assured for themselves a footing in heaven whilst they were still on earth. They entrusted the work to priest-architects and teams of master-craftsmen, who executed it on behalf of their patrons. The role of the patron is suggested by his name. He is the *Yajamāna*, the 'sacrificer'. The name had remained unchanged since the times of Vedic practice, but the work of building had passed to many competent hands. The craftsmen were paid a fee and were thus discharged, so that the merit should not be theirs but their patron's.

The priest-architect was a Brahman. The executive architects, and the sculptors and painters belonged to different castes; many were Śūdras. Their initiation was not necessarily by the rites of the Twice-Born, but through their crafts, and they brought to their callings their various racial heritages. They belonged to guilds, and worked in regional schools, and in the many different places where the military conquests of their rulers sent them. The conditions under which they worked were practically the same over all the country and throughout the ages. The diverse degrees of a consistently high quality of the sculpture in these three centuries in the Deccan (Plates 53, 96–103, 105; Fig. 10) was due to masters unequalled in the history of Indian art.

With rocks as material and caves as the setting for sculpture, the spark was kindled. The fire glowed in secret. Beyond the limits of structural architecture and in the shadows of the cave the sculptures loom out of the walls and ground and hover overhead (cf. Plates 96, 97, 59, 60). The same composition sometimes extends from wall to wall at an angle of ninety degrees and includes the enclosed space as its setting (Plate 47, see Note). This space-enclosing quality of rock sculpture is not confined to the interior of the cave. It creates an interior space, immersed in which the beholder lives the myth.

Compared with the sculptures cut out of the rock, contemporary versions of myths in the structural temples are smaller in size and conception (Plates 62, 66). The figures' bodies are not always associated with the mood that absorbs the faces (Plate 52, bottom). In broad melting planes and wide arcs of intersection, their expressions show them immersed in states of command as compelling as deep sleep, or of Existence aware of its source (Plates 51, 52). They portray the phase of consciousness which is called *Mahat*, the 'Great' (p. 14). In the seventh century Northern India, too, lay under the spell of Deccan cave-sculpture. In Rājasthān, for example, the delicacy of white marble images expands with its warmth and softens the austerity of Jain images (Plate 54).

For over a thousand years, beginning with the second century B.C. (cf. Plates 26, 100, 105), the ancient table-land of the Deccan had been the home of India's foremost sculpture. The school of Āndhra Pradesh, in the S.E. Deccan, held its own during the earlier half of that millennium. In Amarāvatī, the centre of the Āndhra school, sophisticated ecstasies of modelling effloresced in fugitive linear rhythms, characteristic of the narrative style of Buddhist art during the second century A.D. (Plates 32, 33). In the third century this frenzy of virtuosity dwindled in an exhausted repertory of elegant form (Plate 35) and lingered into the fourth century.

At this time, a new dynasty, the Pallavas, arose. Their kingdom included part of the Āndhra country. Their seaport was Māmallapuram, near Madras. Here, in the middle and late seventh century, the rocks on the seashore were fashioned into Hindu temples and caves with their images (Plates 78, 84–86), and into statues (Plates 78, 79) and reliefs as large as the rocks (Plates 80–83). From Mahendravarman, who had called himself 'a Tiger amongst artists' to Rājasiṃha, the 'Ocean of Art', the Pallava kings saw the complexities of the temple tower being compacted in the clear-cut shape of a four-sided pyramid, while into their South Indian sculptures went something of the fleeting impetuosity of the long-limbed figures of Amarāvatī. Conceived on a large scale and disciplined in gesture (Plates 85, 86), they move calmly (Plates 81, 82) through the closely woven pattern of cosmic myth, set against a natural background (Plate 80), the vertical precipice of a cleft boulder. By sculptural images this rock is translated bodily into the realms of myth.

The rock-carvings of Māmallapuram are the storehouse of South Indian form. Their style is restrained and straightforward. It includes a naturalism which, though not often used, is part of South Indian sculpture. In Māmallapuram itself, the protagonist of the gigantic rock-cut myth, the *Kirātārjunīya*, the ascetic Arjuna, is represented in sculptural terms of skeletal emaciation. The naturalistic element in later South Indian sculpture produced portraits not so much of physiognomical types, as of phases of spiritual conquest and attainment (Plates 111, 112). At the end of the creative period of its development, after the twelfth century, South Indian stone sculpture continued its lingering death through another six or seven centuries of iconic output. In this stage, the legs or knees of some of the images are treated naturalistically, while the rest of the figure is shrouded in the iconographic scheme. In one metal figure of a female Śivaite saint, however, the naturalistic element supplies, to a vision cast in pure form, the thematic symbol of the emaciation of the flesh (Plate 150). In more than one of her types, and not only in South Indian sculpture, images of the Great Mother show her face of death (Plate 120).

When still at the height of its power in the eighth century, the Pallava school sent some of the South Indian masters to the art centres of the Deccan. They brought elegance to the sculpture of the outstanding structural temples of Pattadakal (Plates 66, 68). This elegance reduced the rich orchestration of the modelling to a thinner idiom of doubtful appeal (Plates 66, the two images on the left; 69). The rock-sculptures of the Kailāsanātha Temple of Elura absorbed these lighter accents of the new style, but they either exceeded or fell short of the effect of the earlier rock-sculptures. Some of

the images, for instance, seem to be soaring into the Empyrean (Plate 105), while others have lost their driving power.

It is, however, from their connexion with cave-sculpture in the Deccan that the sculptures of this style on the structural temples derive their essential quality. This is particularly noticeable in those in the South Deccan, on the temples of Alampur (Plates 73–77), and to the north-east of the Deccan, on the temples of Rajim (Plate 106).

In most of Northern India, the eighth century developed a lighter style and a more attenuated form. The classical balance achieved in the fifth century, particularly in Sarnath, persisted in the ponderous shapes of the seventh century. In the slighter figures of the eighth century it was maintained by set rules of proportion and a dialectic proficiency in the use of iconographic types (Plate 108). They strike notes of compassion in the reduced modelling of images from the late seventh century onward (Plate 109).

In South India from the eighth century, when the Pallava discipline was losing its influence, the carvings on the rock-temple of Kalugumalai, in the extreme south, are set in the mellow light and deep shadows of the pit in the mountain from which the shrine appears to rise (Plates 88–94). With relaxed attitudes, and rich in their décor of scrolls and curls, these sculptures contribute regional facial types to the emerging style of Indian monumental sculpture (Plate 91). The style was further developed in the next centuries on structural temples outside South India.

The ornaments, scrolls and curls, with their intricate, vital texture, had become the lesser (Plates 92, 93), albeit dispensable (Plates 94, 95), counterpart of the images with their smooth modelled volumes. Carved in oblique and sharply-edged curved planes, the low relief of scrolls and curls is filled with waves and convolutions, whorls and eddies of flame and foliage, plumage, and wisps of vapour (Plates 59, 66, 67, 71, 92, 106). These motifs are based on *Kalpalatā*, the vine of wish-fulfilment (Plate 48, on inner door jambs), which rambles among the panels of non-iconic art, and supports the scenes of early narrative art (Plates 11, 15). The style and technique of the obliquely carved planes with their sharp ridges were formed in the fifth century A.D., in Mathurā, where they had assimilated Iranian elements. In this form the ancient Indian theme filled panels, evolved in cartouches, and developed flame-shapes, leaves and feathers, or the goldsmith's refinements of the crowns and ornaments worn by the images. It replaced, or combined with, its earlier equivalent, the lotus rhizome, carved as a wavy line with rounded edges (Plates 15, 48). The most characteristic variations of the theme are in the Deccan (Plate 67), and in South India of the eighth and ninth centuries, and their final elaborations are seen on the walls of Orissan temples from the tenth to the thirteenth century.

A Jaina image, also from Kalugumalai, but carved on a different hill, shows the naked shape of the Saviour (Plate 95), overshadowed and protected by the larger figure of the Yakṣa behind him. The clear way in which this sculpture is presented, becoming increasingly definite as it emerges from the ground, may be taken to forecast the conception of Indian monumental sculpture during the coming centuries. Whereas after the twelfth century, with rare exceptions, South Indian stone sculpture represents the routine output of the school, its metal images give final form to cosmic

myths. The dance of creation, existence and annihilation, danced by the Lord Śiva (Plates 72, 99) was given its pattern of universal validity by the makers of metal images in South India. Its torsional balance was cast on an archetypal level of sculpture, on which had been shaped the Buddha image of the schools of Mathurā and Sarnath in the fourth to sixth centuries (Plate 50). The images of Śiva, Lord of the Dance, carved in stone about the same time that the bronze images were cast, have iconographic significance only. On the other hand, the bronze images reflect the creative rhythm of Śiva's dance, whether they represent a dancing Kṛiṣṇa (Plate 110), or a seated goddess (Plate 114). Torsional balance in space is an essential quality of sculpture on temple walls outside South India during the following centuries.

The spatial projection of the sculptures, away from the body of the monument of which they form part (Plate 122), together with their own movement around their axis (Plates 119, 123, the Surasundarī), are vital concerns of temple sculpture from the eighth and ninth to the thirteenth century. In earlier centuries (eighth to ninth) the exposition of the sculptures had followed the projections and recesses of the walls of the temple (Plates 107, 116). As has been shown, these were an architectural expression of the impact of divine power enshrined in the body of the temple. It appears most convincingly where the central buttress projects farthest on each of the faces of the building (Plates 115, 116). The simplest ground plan of this kind of building is a square (of the Garbhagṛiha) within the larger square of the walls, each of whose sides has a rectangular projection in the middle (cf. Plate 51). When, in course of time, in an increasing desire for more detailed exposition, further buttresses were added, their most logical arrangement is with reference to the main projection of the central buttress on each side. This buttress carries as its image the respective principal aspect of the divinity within the temple. Lesser aspects and images have their places on the lesser projections (Plate 116). The final plan thus shows a staggered square, an indented cross shape in many varieties, as the perimeter of the walls of the temple (Plates 121, 132). The temples of the South Indian style, however, preserved the cubical shape of the sanctuary (Plate 87), and allowed in its plan for a fretted outline only of the walls, with relatively moderate projections (Plate 104). In the South-Western Deccan, in the eighth century, when South Indian architects were in charge of the construction of the temples of Pattadakal, the plan of the walls seems to hesitate between the South Indian style and the general trend of temple architecture (Plate 66).

The architecture of the temple developed its inherent complexities from the eighth century onwards. In its final stage, each buttress repeated the general plan of the temple by throwing out further buttresses (Plate 121; Fig. 16; Plate 151). Following the Indian architectural principles of subordinate, repetitive, and diminutive shapes, corresponding changes took place in the ground-plans; and other regional types of the sculptured temple-monument were evolved. One variation of the main theme is the star-shaped plan of temples of the southern parts of Mid-India, where the images are subordinated to the monumental context of symbolic architectural mouldings and profiles (Plate 126). Another, at no great distance on the map, brings out the meaning of the temple in statuesque figures, as numerous as the facets of the piers against



VII. Mahārāja Kesari Singh on horseback overcoming a lioness. *Bikaner; now Lallgarh Palace, Bikaner, Rājasthān.* About 1715–20.

which they stand encircled by their curving limbs (Plate 121). The torsional balance around their own axis, in which the body and limbs of the images on the temple walls are wreathed, is the ultimate degree of expressing (in sculptural terms) the mobility of the vessel that is modelled on breath as its core and based on the human body (Plates 25, 26, 119; Fig. 13).

When sculptured friezes run their shadowed bands between the mouldings (Plate 116) or on pillars (Plate 71), the figures are in relation to the continuous plane of the relief ground (Plates 117, 118). Their movements as dancers are conveyed not by a writhing of their limbs in space, but by distorting their shapes against the flat background. Distended profiles and exaggerated curves translate the actual movement and its gyration in space with tense sinuous lines.

Nothing is left to chance in this art, which is completely aware of its means and purpose. The volumes are enclosed by planes and lines which are almost mathematically defined (Plate 125). Each subject has its proper place (Plates 124, 116), each place its meaning (Plate 123), and each figure its function. The maids and messengers of the Great Goddess offer their charms, glances, movements and symbols (Plate 122; Fig. 13). The more absorbed they seem in their performance, the more provocative they are. Their function is to stir the worshipper, to awaken, attract, and hold his attention, and thus lead him back to the centre from where they have emerged.

These are no longer the centuries when the active power of the demiurge was shown in a transubstantiated body based on the shape of man which, by its form, was the vessel of man's state beyond form (Plates 41, 100–102). This vessel contained effortless power as an abiding state of consciousness (*mahat*). By its means the transubstantiated body of the image seemed wafted on a wave of its indwelling might and at rest on it. The power is now shown not in its causal stage, nor vested in the image (cf. Plates 124, 99), but in the total monument, the temple. The temple is the structure that embodies the cosmic myth of 'Existence'. The ontologically higher stages of creative consciousness were given form in the sculpture of the preceding centuries. The temple, as the total form of manifestation, now enshrines the creative principle and shows its activity in all the shapes and figures which it supports, and which have their place upon its walls. The temple images thus belong to a lesser hierarchy of form, although, iconographically, they may have the same names as the images of preceding centuries. Formerly the image showed the actual state of creativeness on the level nearest to the Godhead—which is without form or ascription. The images now show the figures of the gods *in* creation, with their particular powers, at definite places on the body of the temple, which is the likenesss of the universe. On that body they are only partial aspects. Although their expression retains a certain ambivalence, it has more charm than mystery (Plate 119; Fig. 13). The faces of the images register the reflex of psychological experiences in their flawless proportions. An image of the Great Mother in her destructive aspect does not wear the silent face of annihilation, but screams its horror with bleak, emaciated features beneath an impeccably groomed crown of matted locks set with smooth skulls (Plate 120). On this level, and at that stage of psychological expression, the ideal facial type of each province leaves its

imprint on the countenance of the images (Plates 122, 130, 143). Their eyes look upon the outer world, but they are absorbed within themselves.

The output of the several regional schools, from the ninth to the thirteenth century, can be seen as the work of as many imaginary, anonymous masters, whose productive life extended over these centuries. Their idioms went through the same metamorphoses. The moments of perfect utterance, however, are not chronological. In Mid-India, under Candella rule, the school of Khajuraho expressed delicate states of intellectual and sensual rapture in long-stemmed, globular, and serpentine shapes (Plate 122). Just before that same time, under Cedi rule, the school of Bheraghat charged its richer plastic content with uncanny exaltation (Plate 127).

In the following centuries, form once more rests in its own weight (Plates 141, 143, 145). But the weightiness of this age (late eleventh to thirteenth centuries) has a different gravity from that of the seventh century. In the Cedi school, the flamboyant welter of the preceding phase settles down into sober masses (Plate 129). The definition of their planes lays bare the soul of the Enchantress. In the preceding centuries the moods of the goddess had been borne by the modelling (Plates 127, 128).

The climate of the same period can be seen by its effect on two adjacent schools in Eastern India, one in Bengal, and the other in Orissa. In the former, the volumes are outlined by meticulous curves composed of ornaments and draperies (Plate 143). Their details are as polished as the metal-smooth surface stretched over the withheld sensuousness of their Bengali countenance. The nature of the black stone of the Bengali images enhanced the idiom of this region. It said all that it was meant to say in this, the last phase of its continuous evolution through past centuries. This also applies to Orissa, where the colossal statues on the Sun temple of Koṇāraka hold (in limbs that look as though they had been turned on a potter's wheel) their joyous attitude in space, high up on the roof of the temple (Plate 145). Because they transport their being into the volume of their emotions, the images of the Sun temple of Koṇāraka belong to eternity in the world of art (Plate 146). In the Deccan, the inherent weightiness of form remained although its impact had grown less and less. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries it rests in the stately juxtaposition of bold or detailed masses (Plates 130, 141, 142).

The image maker's craft continued to be practised after traditional art had exhausted its resources. Even today images are being made to serve the formalities of the cult. The living stream of Indian art was diverted to other places, where it was supported by the ancient races of India and by later immigrants.

The Gonds, a pre-Aryan people of Mid-India, used the flowing lines and rounded masses (Plate 144), placing them—as in the days of Barhut—directly on the flat ground of the relief, with a zest that had no place in the sculptures of Barhut. It is, however, an open question how much of the form of Barhut was a Gond contribution. The historical map of Indian art of the second millennium A.D. is dotted with survivals from ancient stocks and new beginnings on the level of the tribal and folk arts. But apart from such sporadic and marginal trends, there are signs of the emergence of a new form-idiom. Sharp and concise, it cut into the paintings of the Deccan, at Elura,

and Kanheri, about the year 800. It can be seen attacking with angular strokes the plastic content of sculpture in Rājasthān, but only in the tenth century (Plate 117). Within another century, as may be seen in the white marble reliefs of South Rājasthān, plastic fullness of modelling had yielded to impetuous linear rhythms (Plates 135, 136). In the two following centuries, such linear rhythms became dominant, turning plastic form to feverish mannerism (Plates 138, 139) and delicate (Plate 140) or bleak rigour (Plate 137). With this linear trend as one of its roots springs the progressive predominance of painting over the other arts in Hindu India during the second millennium.

In a country invaded and subsequently ruled by Islam, Indian architecture lost its character of monumental sculpture. The sharp angles of widely projected eaves and small roofs slashed into its solid masses (Plate 151; cf. Plate 121). In the fifteenth century, feelings of unrest and resistance were mingled with recollections of the full, rounded forms of fruition. The impact of the mass is confined within the wall itself, and its surface is covered with a web of colourful patterns (Plate 152). Western and Mid-India are the main scenes of the disintegration of Indian form (Plate 151), the regrouping of its elements (Plate 153), and the admittance of Islamic themes (Plate 151). Indian architecture in the service of Islam raises the sentient curve of spaciously realized domes over façades that are pure in surface, line, and space.[1] When these domes are integrated into Indian temples, their skyline is contradicted by the surging, battle-scarred mass of the tower (Plate 151).

During the early centuries of the second millennium, traditional sculpture was controlled by a conscious formalization. With heightened awareness, the regional schools expressed themselves in characteristic idioms. In the whole country it was a descent from the metaphysical to the psychological level, and, in Western India particularly, from the fullness of sculptural content to a linearized recording of tremors lying just beneath the surface. Their translucent shapes are seen in the marble sculptures of South Rājasthān.

By the middle of the second millennium, crossed rhythms gave a nervous vitality to the patterns of Western Indian sculpture in the various media. Metal, wood and stone intermingled their different qualities with strident overtones. They were attuned to the needs of the succeeding centuries (Plate 154; Fig. 29) and appear for the last time in Gujarat, in the eighteenth century. While Western Indian sculpture had, as it were, lived on its nerves, and in so doing had found expression, the past in other places overstayed its time, or impregnated a living folk art (Plates 155; 156, cf. Fig. 1e; Fig. 26) with the seed of creative, symbolic form.

PAINTING as an art of coloured surfaces and vital line had taken precedence over the other arts by the beginning of the second millennium A.D. In the second millennium B.C., a definite repertory of symbolic design in terms of surface was applied to the round pottery shapes of one of the Indus valley civilizations (Plate 2). Nothing

[1] Islamic art in India is a chapter by itself. In the present context the art of Islam in India is only referred to where it is reflected in the Indian traditions.

connects the paintings of these millennia except their preoccupation with surface. In the intervening ages, painting, within its own field, had developed a way of building up a third dimension compactly organized in depth. This was achieved by leading the eye not into the distance, but from the ground of the wall towards the spectator, into the painted idyll and imagery of an ever-unfolding scene, where life was steeped in the atmosphere of its myth (Fig. 11).

By the end of the first century B.C., the means were ready to paint this picture of the mind beholding itself in its work. Its sculptural equivalent in a relief is the 'fairy scene' of Sanchi (Plate 21). More rich in texture because they commanded the greater illusions, the paintings were elaborated in surface, line and colour. They are preserved on the walls of the caves of Ajanta and Jogimara (Orissa) in the centuries on either side of the Christian era. After another half-millennium, in the fifth century A.D., Indian painting attained to classical stature (Colour Plates I–III).

The structural cubism that builds up space and volume is vested in the shapes of rocks and buildings (Fig. 11). Rocks are represented as clusters of prisms. Their fronts, sides, and undersurfaces are shown at one and the same time and in contrasting colours. The prisms, moreover, are seen in a perspective moving from right or left, so that their piled masses suggest not only volume but direction. They do not converge towards a point in depth, but diverge from such a point into the picture space. This space is literally built up by prismatic building blocks of pictorial construction. They are piled up in height, come out of the depth, and stop short as though they had been sliced off. Like the sound of a trumpet they increase in volume and break off at the maximum of expansion. Smaller cubes are packed in between the slanting rock walls. They line the depth of the grotto behind the group of standing figures.

By means of these rocks, the grotto is built into the painting by constructive cubism; and in this pictorial structure are set the plastically modelled, foreshortened, and compositionally ordered figures. Some are shown flying in front of clouds, on either side of the rocky phantasm that tops the grotto. At the mouth of this cave, a straggling line of tall women sways in the curves of their arrested steps and gestures. In front, it is hemmed in by two groups of children, one group squatting in a semicircle on the flowery slope of a tapestry landscape. The slope descends from behind into the grotto and comes to an end in front of, and below it, on a border of prisms which are indented at regular intervals. They form the edge of the mountain side and project above the water lying below. The picture empties its spatial contents, by means of intersecting planes, in progressive vertical strata in the direction of the beholder.

Rock cubes are the building blocks of the volumes and space of nature. And in the same way, Giottesque pavilions and wall-less rooms build up a phantasmagoric architecture. Groups of figures fill these structures, grottoes and flowery pleasances (Colour Plate II) in a continuous narrative of myths and legends and, more often than not, in one simultaneous composition. As if discharged from a cornucopia behind the painted wall, they seem to penetrate it and to halt inside the painting, which is filled with their plastically rounded volumes (Colour Plates I–III). This cornucopia is the mind. Its contents are poured out of the 'storehouse of consciousness' into the field

of mental vision. In that light they are modelled and projected, as if in a shadow play, on to the 'white wall of attentiveness', which is the ground of the painting.

This coming forward into visibility from the storehouse of consciousness supports the intellectual structure of the paintings. The movement is arrested in the process of taking shape as it comes towards the beholder. This constructive cubism of intersecting planes is interwoven with rhythms in whose curves and arcs the scenes or groups are embraced (Colour Plate II). They wend their way horizontally from one scene to the next, winding in and out of the space-cubicles of houses or grottoes and combining the movements and meaning of the figures and gestures in a tapestry of pictorial invention. No kind of modelling is withheld from their flexed limbs. Modelling in line and colour, and all other possibilities of shading so as to produce the illusion of volume, are employed to give the painted figures the quality of sculpture (Colour Plate I). In a world without shadows 'their limbs have the liquid lustre of the pearl. This liquid quality suggests the idea of waves'.[1]

The organization of the wall-paintings of Ajanta has its nearest affinity in the reliefs of the Āndhra school (Plates 30, 32–35). In physical proximity are the rock-cut—and originally painted—sculptures adjacent to, and contemporary with, the Ajanta cave paintings. As in Ajanta, the paintings are a complete and final expression of Indian art. Towards the end, both in Ajanta itself and also in the cave paintings at Badami, the context is thinned. In its thinner and variously accentuated context, this classical form of Indian painting survived into the eleventh century in South India (Plate 113), and continued in miniature paintings of illuminated manuscripts for one or two centuries in Eastern India (Bengal). A late flowering of the tradition, affected by Western contacts in the sixteenth century, is here shown in its Orissan version (Fig. 27), and in a nineteenth-century brush drawing from Calcutta (page 214).

On the other hand, the classical form of Indian painting adjusted itself increasingly to the surface in the centuries of its devolution and, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, stands midway between its own past and the final result of this process of elimination and reduction to the surface (Fig. 12). Before this happened, however, a new quality of animation appeared, stretching the line to breaking point and confronting its sinuosity with angles. From impatience with plastic modelling, its burden was shifted to the line, distorting the wave-form in a manner that both recalled and belied its past history (Plates 147, 148; Fig. 19). The point where classical Indian painting definitely turned towards a trenchantly hieratic style is shown in some portions of the painted ceilings of the Kailāsanātha temple in Elura. From about A.D. 800 onwards there is a change in the physiognomy of Western, Deccani and Mid-Indian painting. Taking the faces of figures as an example, the change shows a complete disruption of the earlier manner. The outline of what was once a three-quarter profile now cuts across the further eye, which henceforward, and, in the Western School, until the end of the sixteenth century, lies outside the face, on the flat colour of the painted ground. The nearer eye, wide open, and seen as it were from the front, travels at times across the entire width, particularly of the female profile, extending as far as the ear.

[1]Jayamaṅgala, commentary by Yaśodhara, on Kāmasūtra I.

The painting of Western India, in the meanwhile, had begun to glow with a new vision. The muted tones of classical painting were consumed in the luminosity of a flat colour area, against which the figures were now limned in a daring tracery of dovetailed patterns, speckled on to its red or golden radiance. Sumptuous and lively, passionate and calligraphic, this new style of Indian painting was first applied to illuminated palm leaf (Plates 147, 148; Fig. 19), and later to paper manuscripts. It was prolific in Gujarat, and to the north of it, in Uttar Pradesh and Mid-India, whence it spread to the East. In purity of form and colour, its place in Indian art is similar to that of Byzantine painting in the West. Historically, its practice coincides with the arrival and diffusion of Islam in India. In some fifteenth-century manuscripts, border designs from earlier Persian compositions are translated into an idiom whose home was Western India. Soon after, in the sixteenth century, however, the nervous energy of this style became dulled, and the assurance of the 'Rājput line' was added to it (Fig. 21). At this period, the *leitmotif* of showing the farther eye outside the facial contour lost its significance and was no longer used. Henceforward, in 'Rājput' painting the face as a rule was outlined in strict profile, showing only the nearer eye, front view, as before (Colour Plates VI, VII; Figs. 21, 22, 25). The transition from the one style to the other (Fig. 23, upper half, face on left) is shown by giving two noses, one outlined in profile against the halo, the other starting between the brows and twisted to the left. Both eyes lie on one side of the further nose, which the distant eye overlaps to a certain degree. In these distortions, two conventions appear simultaneously, as the Western school adapts itself (Fig. 24) to the strict profile of the so-called Rājput style of painting, established about 1500 with Mewar as its foremost school.

The beginnings of Rājput painting can be traced to classical painting in the centuries of its disintegration and absorption into folk art (Fig. 12). The perforated fretwork screen in Mān Singh's palace at Gwalior is a stone version of this style (Fig. 18). Its florescence at the courts of Rājput princes is due to their rivalry in patronage of the arts with the Muslim overlords in the Deccan and Delhi during the sixteenth century.

Mogul painting came into existence in the Imperial studios in direct response to the predilections of Akbar the Great, and, in the seventeenth century, of Emperor Jahangir. The traditions of Indian painting were harnessed to a Persian style which became increasingly diluted by the introduction of the perspective of the European Renaissance. Through the Mogul school Persian and Renaissance elements filtered into Rājput painting.

In the Deccan, the same and even more components commingled under a prevailing Indian cast. Timurid and Turkish motifs were adapted to a current local idiom, at the court of Ahmadnagar towards the end of the sixteenth century. The paintings are stark and intent in their decorative aim (Colour Plate V). Further to the south, at the court of Bijapur, European Renaissance elements were grafted with regal splendour and Persian décor on a more ancient and classically Indian type of composition (Colour Plate IV) for whose survival southern India is indebted to the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar (Fig. 20). But Rājput art is a feudal, as distinct from a court, art; and the many Rājput schools in their intimate, sophisticated, spontaneous and traditional



VIII. Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardanī: The Great Goddess killing the Buffalo demon.
Bundi; now Private Collection, New York. Mid-eighteenth century.

ways, painted for the delight of the princely patrons. A devout prince might attain Release through connoisseurship.

This less ambitious aim did not demand a last degree of inwardness from the painter. The evocative power was not as great as in the classical and hieratic phases, when painting had its place primarily in the temple, secondly in the palace, and then in everyman's house. But by their training and family background the painters lived the tradition and put it into their work. They kept it alive into the nineteenth century until the onslaught of the Industrial Revolution, which had a devastating effect on the traditions of India, where, until that time, the arts had been essential elements in the lives of the people.

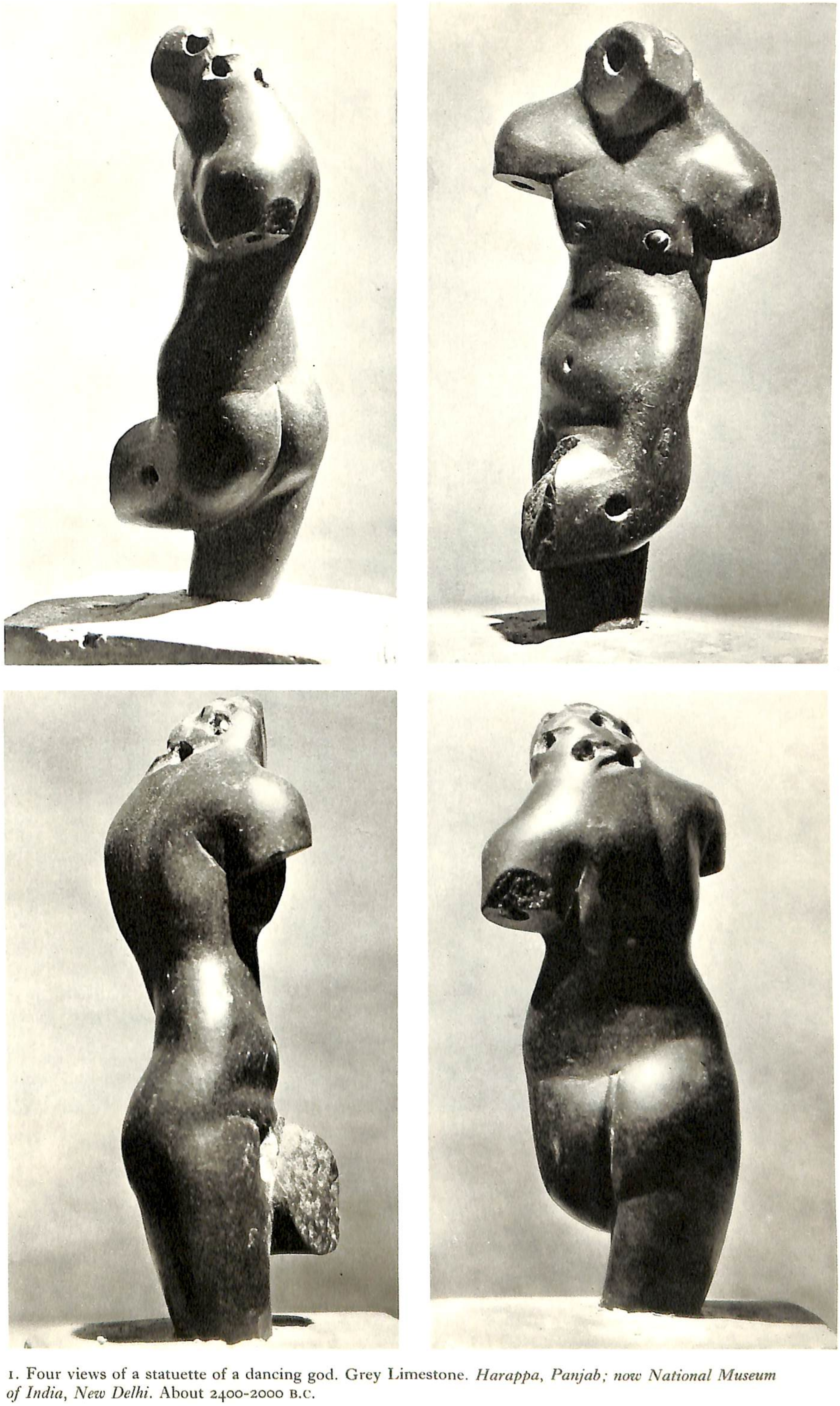
'Rājput' painting had its own style of diverse flavours and was practised in many widely separated and different schools (Colour Plates VI–VIII, Figs. 21, 22, 25). In format it was like a painted leaf from an album. It was neither book illustration nor miniature painting, although deriving from both, and it was not an adaptation of wall-painting to a smaller scale. On the contrary, the Rājput wall-paintings seem like enlargements from leaves in the whole album of Rājput art.

Each composition is self-contained, and shows an episode from a sacred story or traditional theme (Plates VI, VIII; Figs. 21, 22, 25), also portraits of kings, princes and nobles (Plate VII). But whatever subjects were chosen, they were painted for princely connoisseurs and collectors. A princely library of such painting albums (like the library at Mandi in the Western Himālayas) represented a collection from which single leaves might be taken and looked at individually and then replaced in the album —much as one looks at an easel-picture. In the illustration of one single canto of the Rāmāyaṇa, for example, there might be as many as a hundred separate paintings. Their number and the relatively short time given to their critical and loving inspection accounts for their style of abbreviated statement. This style is distinguished by the clarity of the composition, the precise execution and the juxtaposition of clear, singing colours, which in one school are bright, in another deep, and in a third irridescent as mother of pearl. The output was prodigious, and the work of each school had its unmistakable character.

In the seventeenth century, the schools of central India (Fig. 25), between those of Rājasthān and the Deccan, and that of Basohli in the Western Himālayas, the latter extending into the eighteenth century (Colour Plate VI), are affiliated, by their sustained and savagely intense forms, to Indian painting of the preceding centuries. The backgrounds and scenes are not dovetailed, as they were in Western India (Plates 147, 148), and remain in south-west Rājasthān (Fig. 22) in the seventeenth, and in certain paintings of Eastern India in the eighteenth century (Fig. 26). Where the flat colour is the backdrop against which the figures are outlined, rectangular frameworks of contemporary architectural elements help in the schematic division of the painted area (Fig. 25). This use of an ancient, classical device—seen in its devolution in Fig. 12—and now adapted to decorative effect in the surface, particularly in central Indian paintings (Fig. 25), cannot compete with the ingenuity and dazzling intensity of the toy and fairyland animals and trees nor with the concentrated and trenchant line which determines the types of the heroes and heroines in the many centres of Rājput painting, that is of Indian painting, under the patronage of the nobility, from about the sixteenth into the nineteenth century.

In the eighteenth century the schools of Bundi in Rājasthān (Plate VIII) and of Kangra in the Western Himālayas—the latter into the nineteenth century—(Fig. 28) distilled the essence of Indian painting from traditional practice and direct inner vision, even though the landscape of an external world glided into the structure and wreathed its moods around the ancient themes.

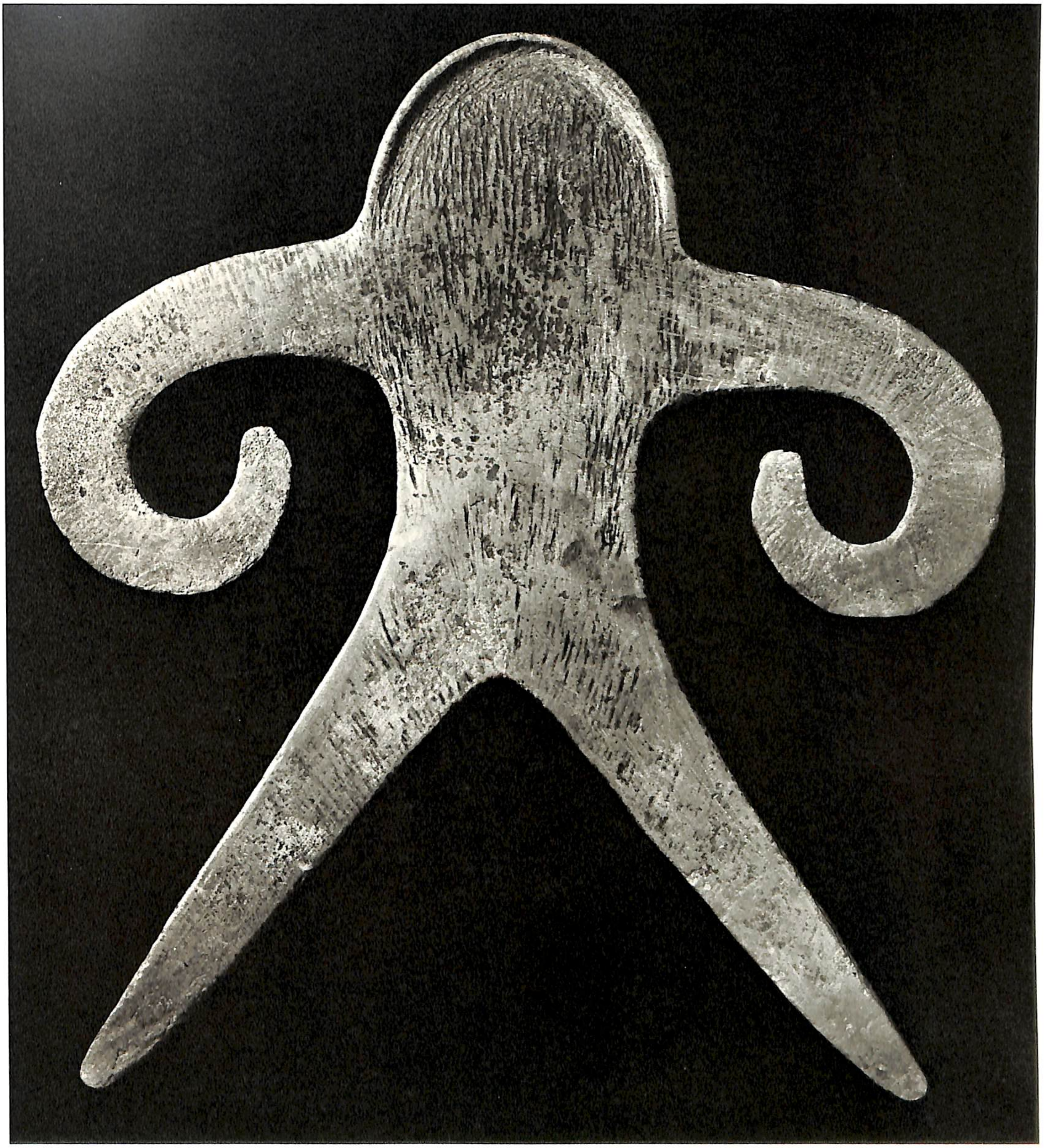
PLATES



1. Four views of a statuette of a dancing god. Grey Limestone. *Harappa, Panjab; now National Museum of India, New Delhi*. About 2400-2000 B.C.



2. Circular lid of burial urn. *Cemetery H. Harappa, Panjab; now National Museum of India, New Delhi.* Middle of second millennium B.C.



3. Copper sheet figure in the shape of a man. *Bisauli, Uttar Pradesh; now Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Hindu University, Banaras.* About 1000 B.C. or earlier



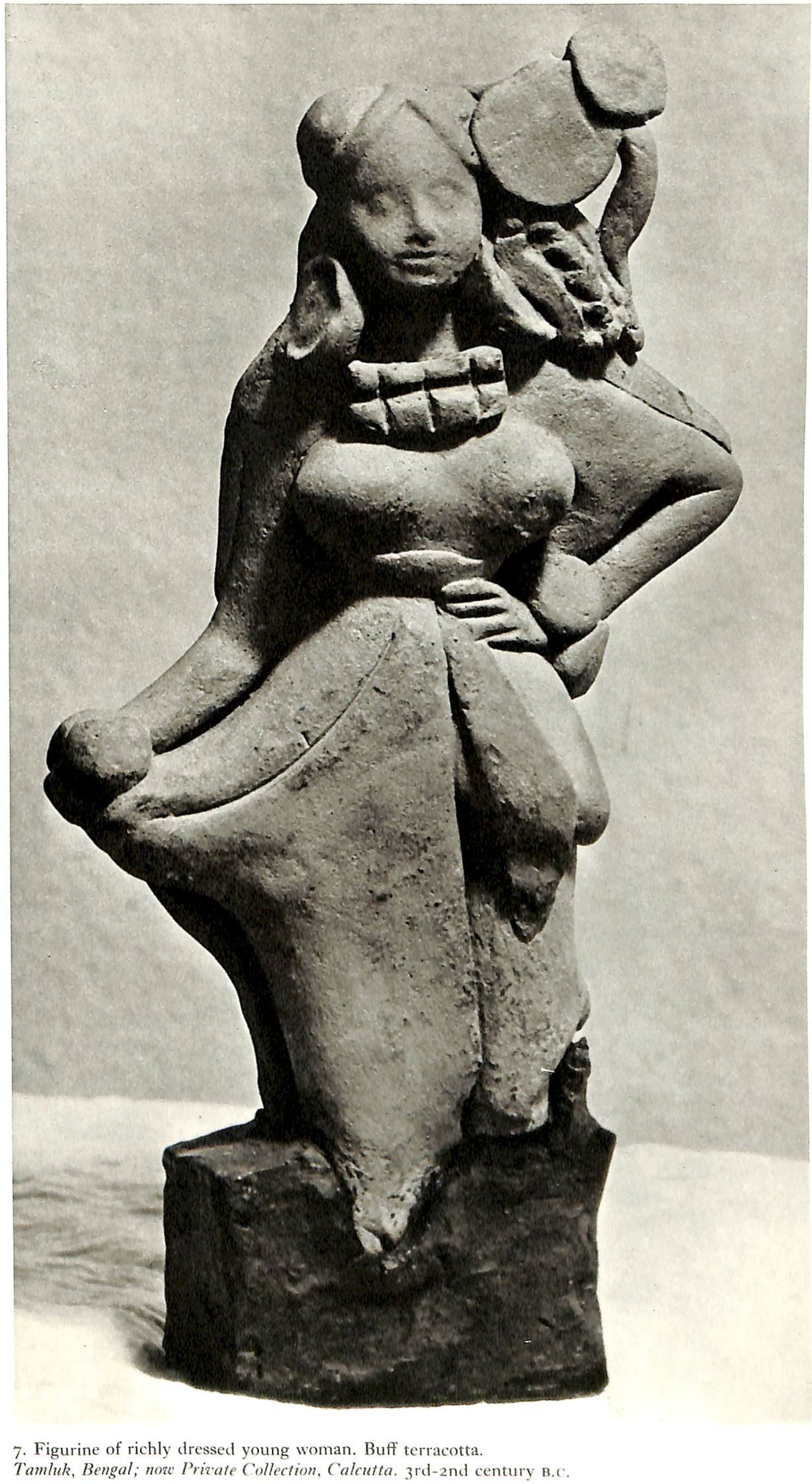
4. Bull Capital. Sandstone. *Rampurva, Bihar; now National Museum of India, New Delhi.* 3rd century B.C.



5. Yakṣa figure. Sandstone. *Patna, Bihar; now National Museum of India, New Delhi.* 3rd century B.C.



6. Figurine of mother goddess. Grey terracotta.
Mathurā, U.P.; now Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. About 3rd century B.C.



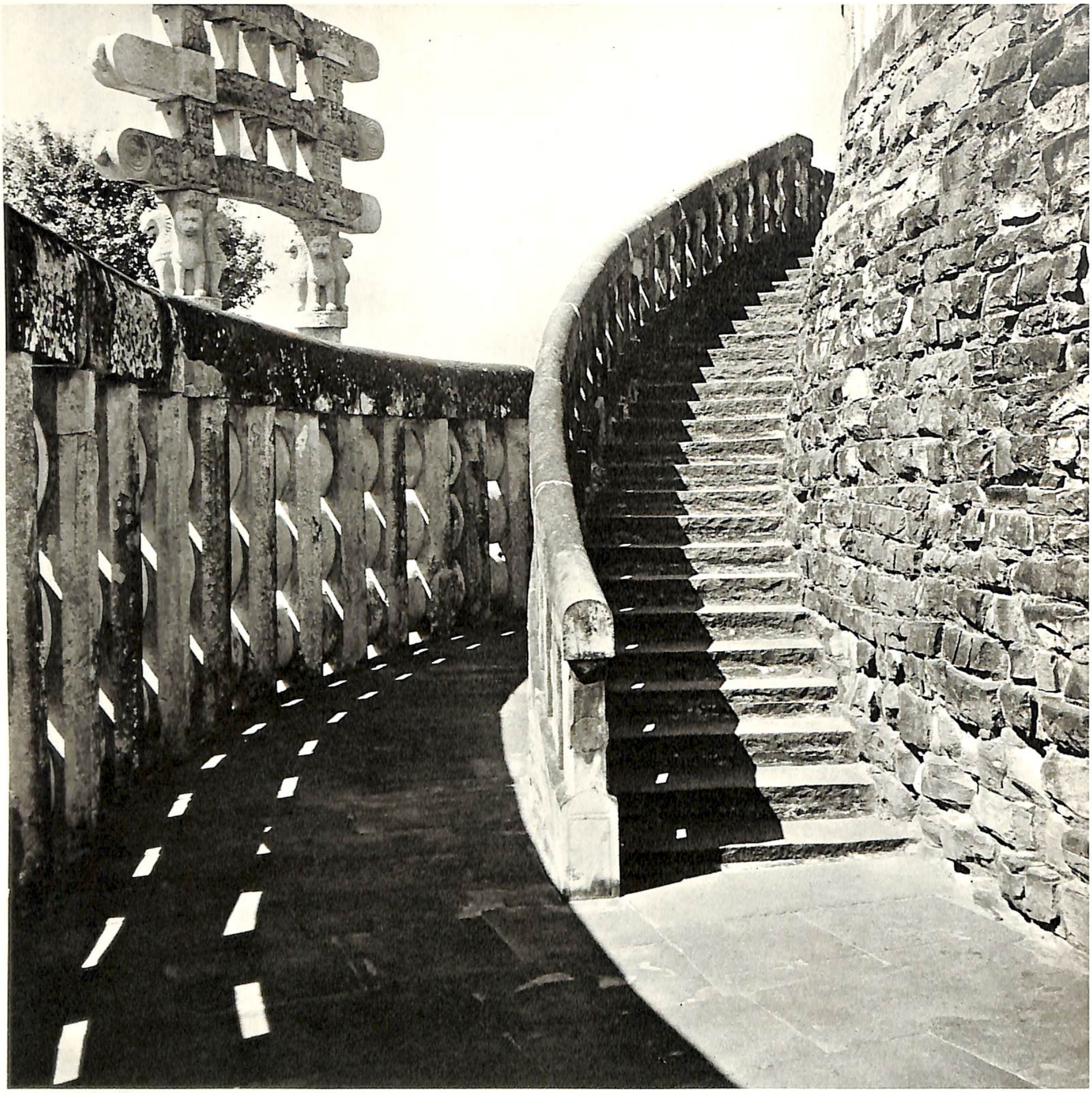
7. Figurine of richly dressed young woman. Buff terracotta.
Tamluk, Bengal; now Private Collection, Calcutta. 3rd-2nd century B.C.



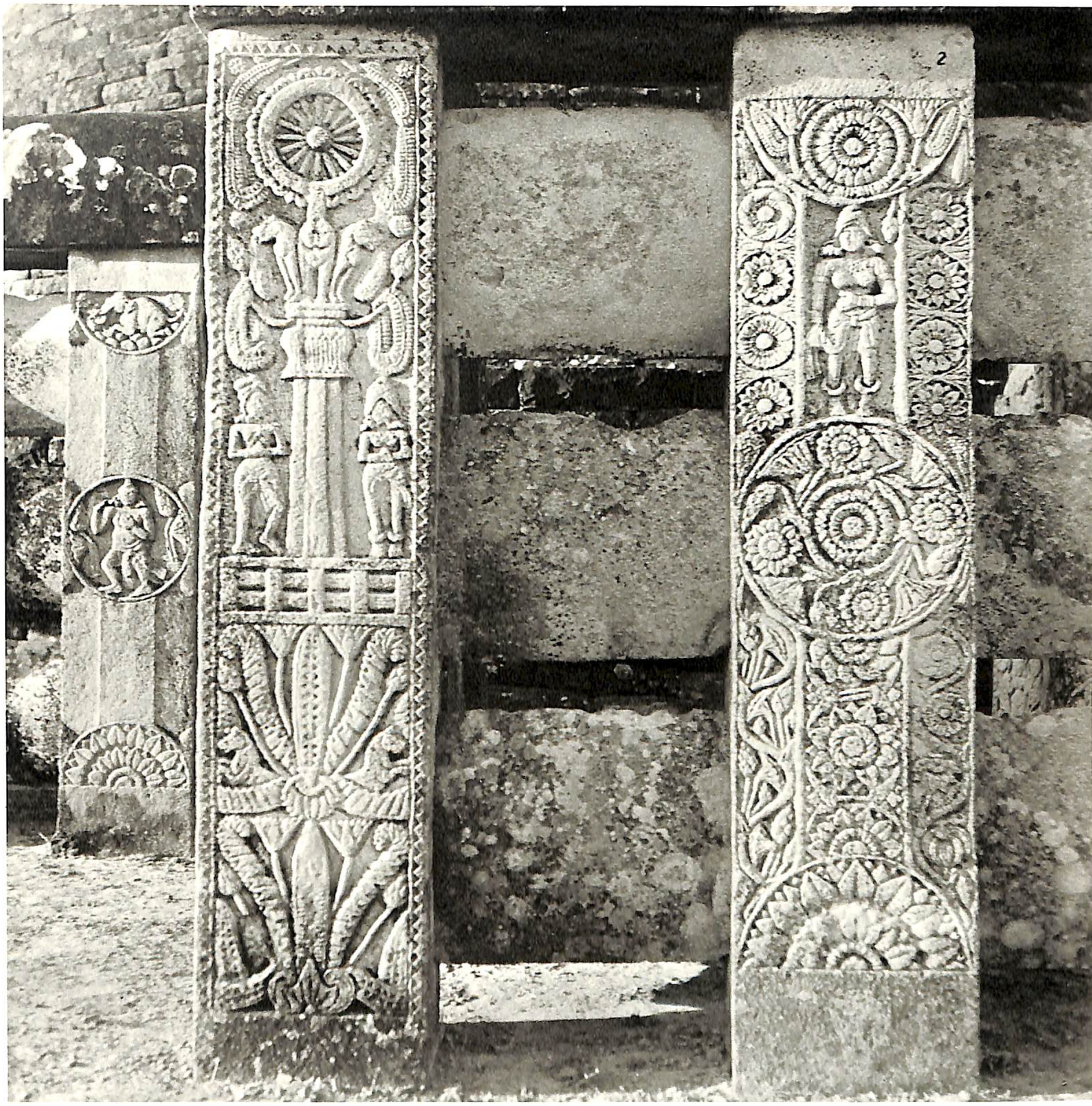
8. Yakṣa Maṇibhadra; made by Gomitaka. Sandstone. *Parkham; now Mathurā Museum*. About 200 B.C.



9. Turbaned head of male figure. Sandstone. *Sarnath, U.P.; now National Museum of India, New Delhi.* Early 2nd century B.C.



10. Ambulatory of the Great Stūpa. Sandstone. *Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh.* Middle of 2nd century B.C.



11. Railing posts of entrance to the Stūpa of the Saints. Sandstone. *Sanchi*. Second half of 2nd century B.C.



12. Centaur (Kiṃpuruṣa) and female rider, roundel on railing of berm of the Great Stūpa. *Sanchi.* Middle of 2nd century B.C.



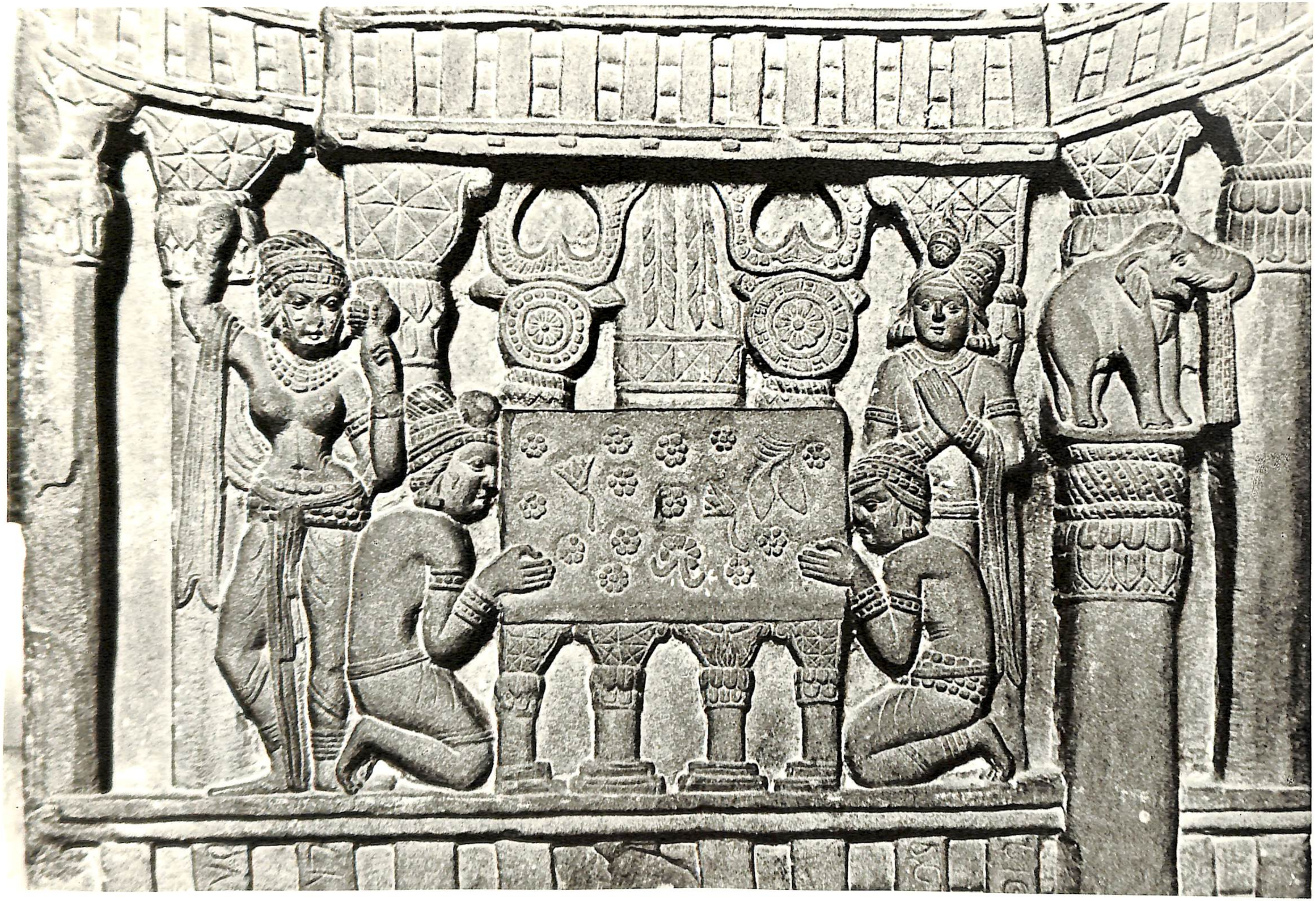
13. Griffin, half-roundel on the upper portion of a railing post from the Stūpa of the Saints. *Sanchi.* Second half of 2nd century B.C.



14. Horse-faced Yakṣī carrying a youth, both holding branches with fruits.
Roundel on railing post of the Stūpa of the Saints. *Sanchi.* Second half of 2nd century B.C.



15. Lotus wave with Jātaka scene, ornaments, etc. Part of coping stone from the railing of the Stūpa. *Barhut, Madhya Pradesh; now Allahabad Museum.* Second half of 2nd century B.C.



16. Scene of worship in the temple of the Bodhi tree. Detail of panel on a corner pillar of the railing of the Stūpa. *Barhut; now Indian Museum, Calcutta.* Second half of 2nd century B.C.



17. A Buddhist parable, fragment of a railing post from the Stūpa. *Barhut; now Allahabad Museum.* Second half of 2nd century B.C.



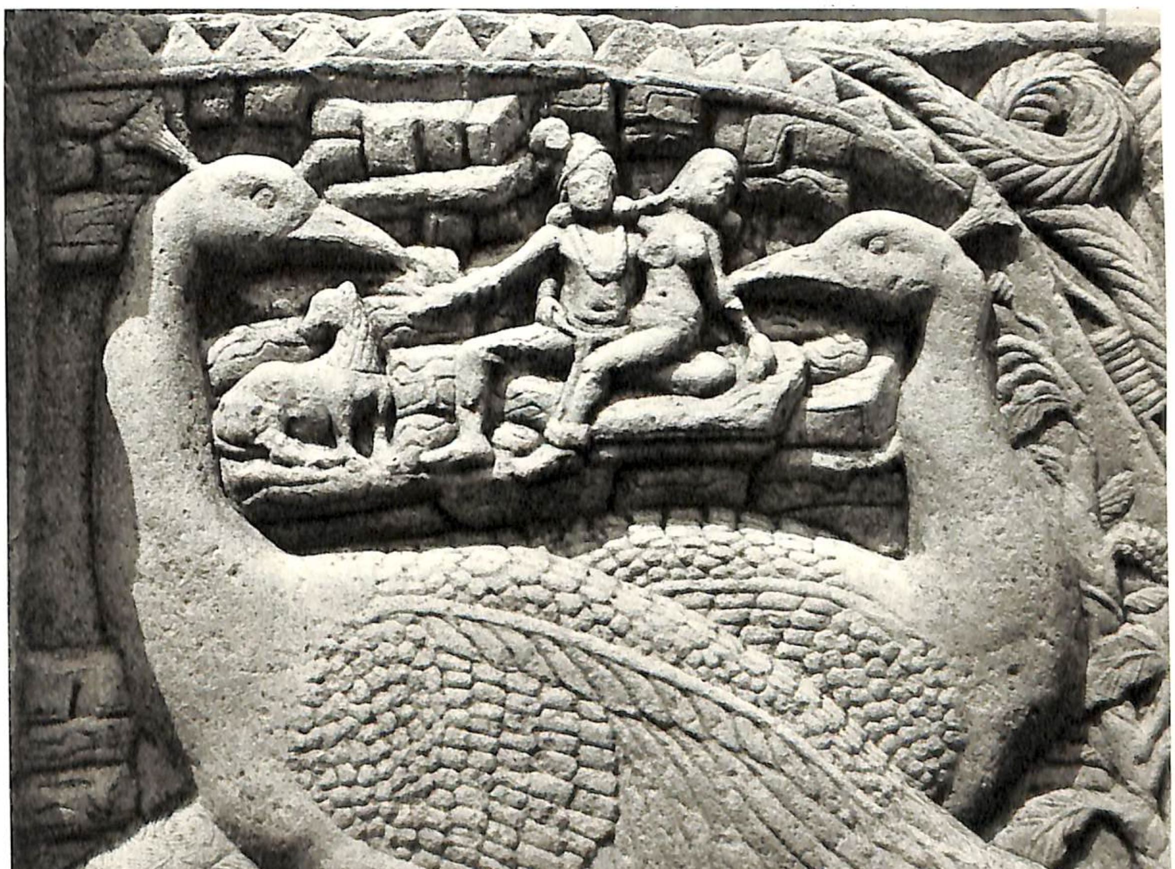
18. Mṛiga Jātaka, roundel of railing post from the Stūpa. *Barhut; now Indian Museum, Calcutta.* Second half of 2nd century B.C.



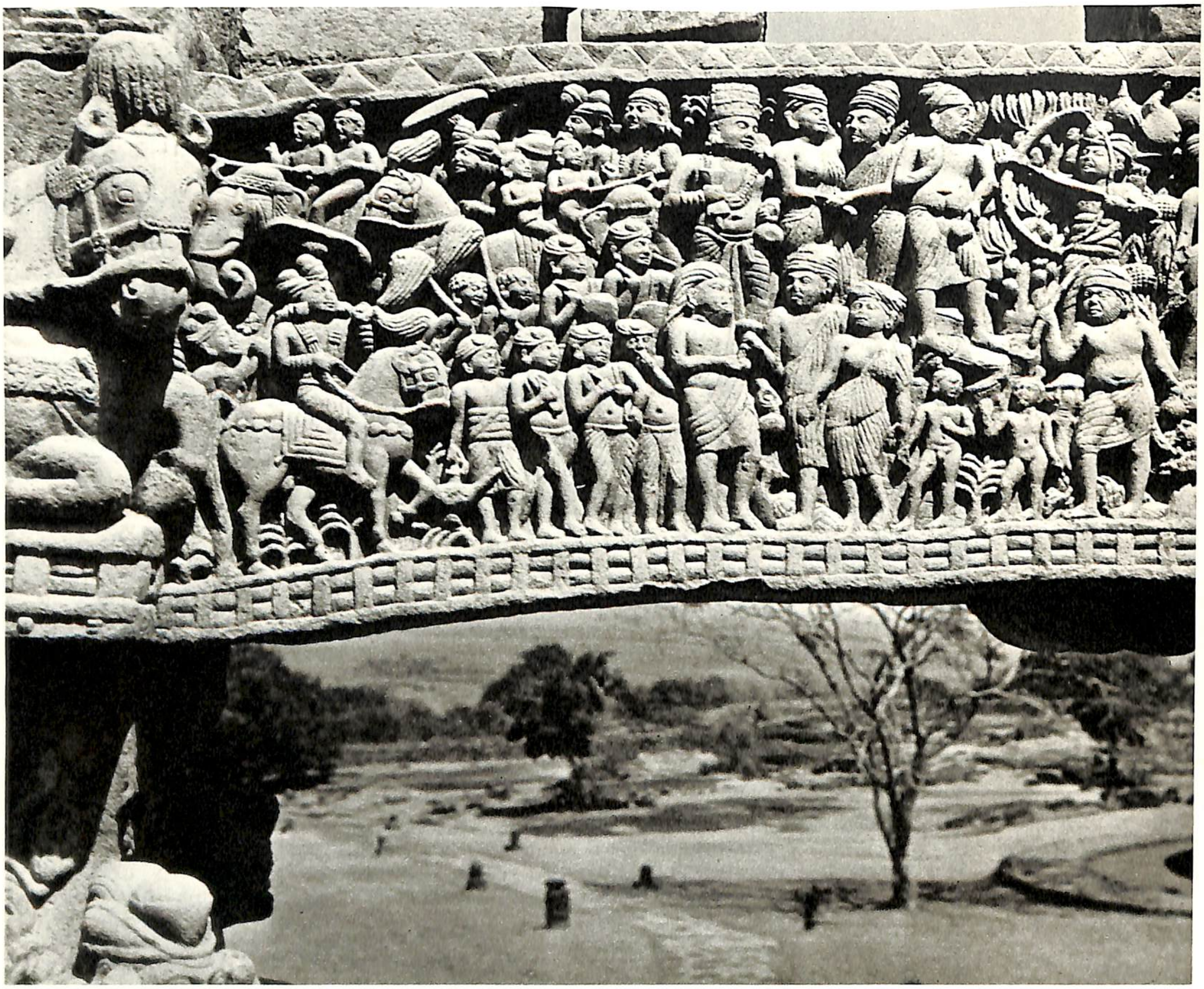
19. Makara: end of beam of gateway of Stūpa. *Barhut; now Indian Museum, Calcutta.* About 100 B.C.



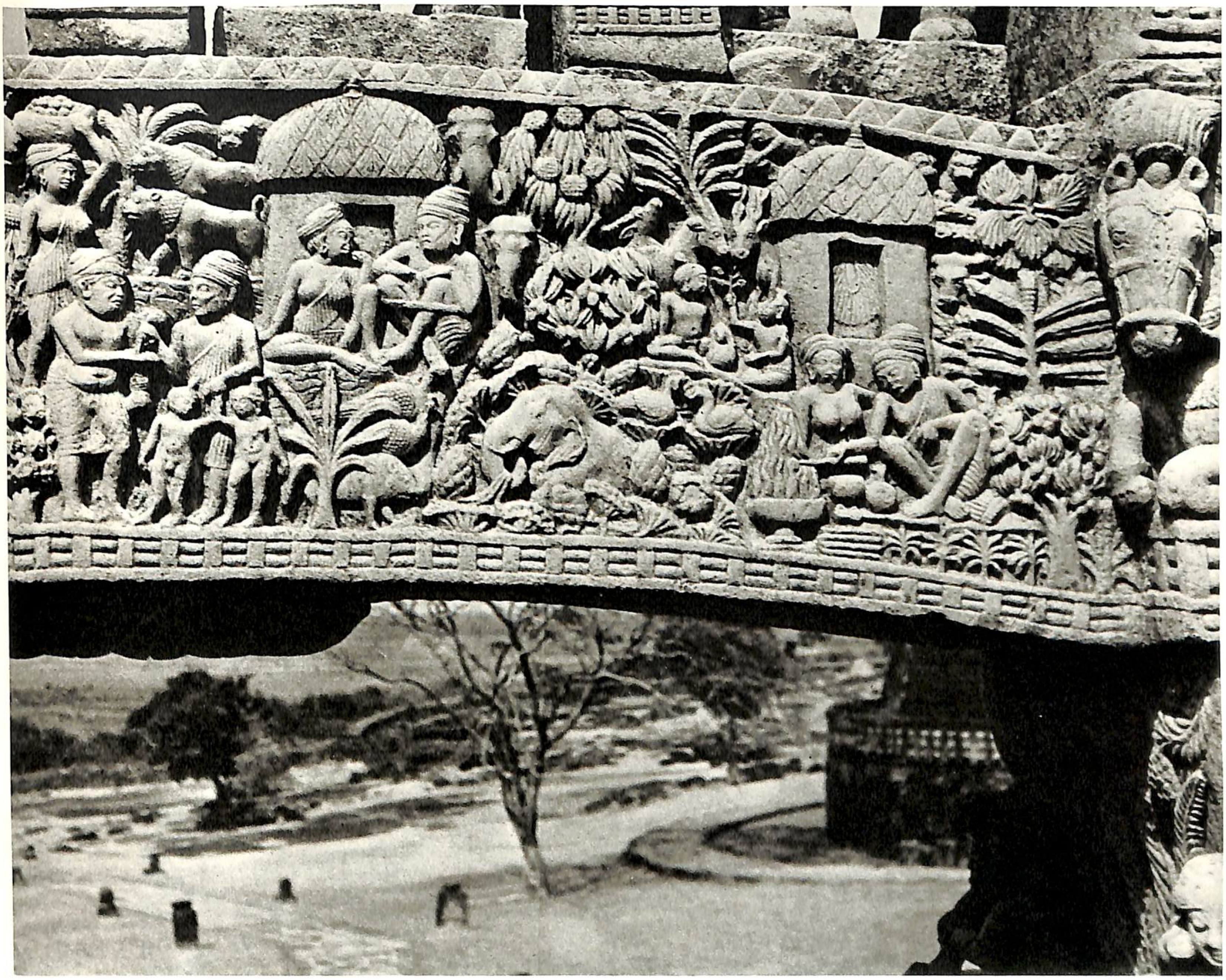
20. Genii riding on addorsed goats; panel on lowest beam of East gate, Great Stūpa. *Sanchi.* 1st century B.C.



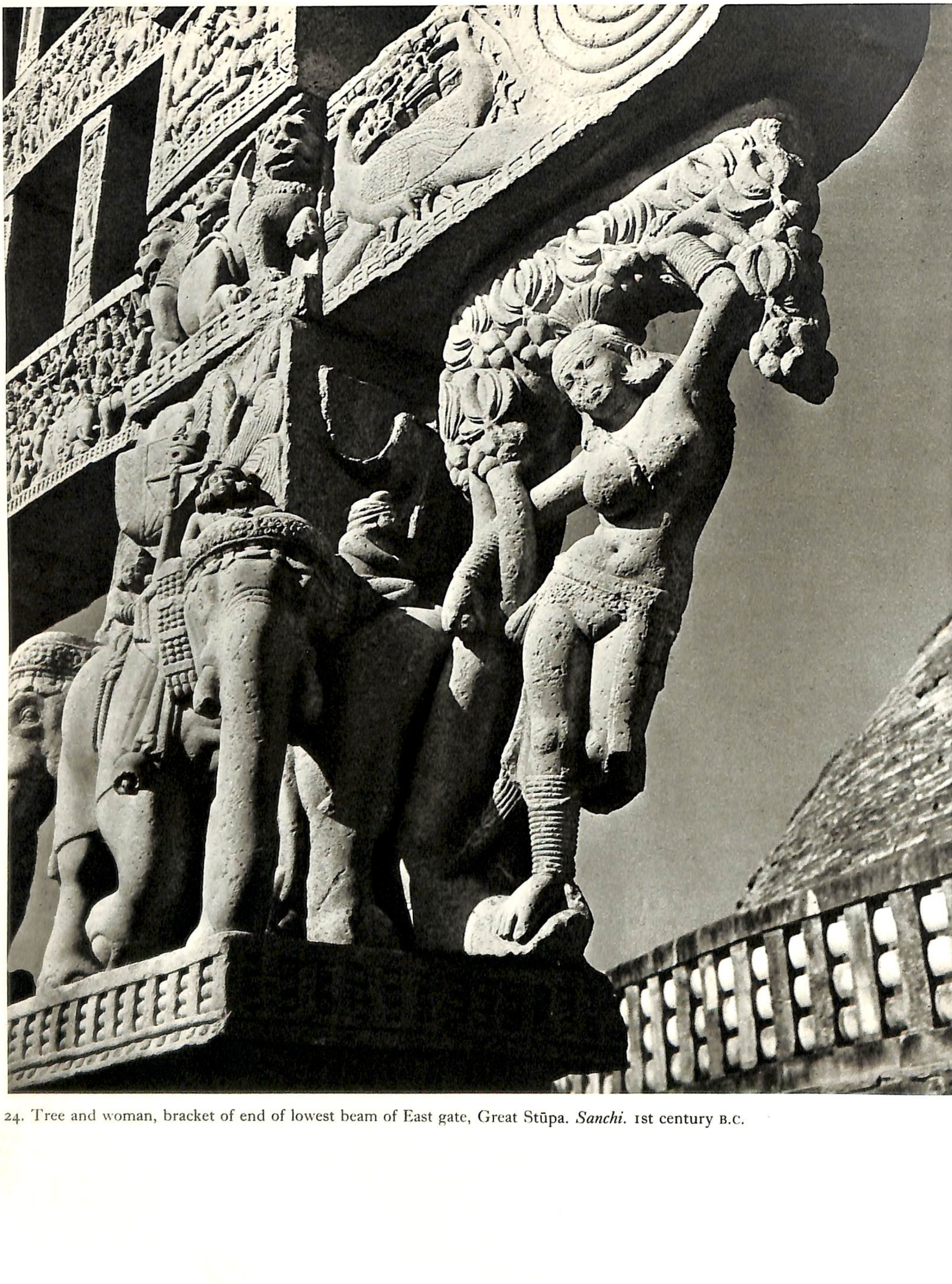
21. Genie and his fairy in a rocky solitude; inset between two large jugate peacocks. East gate, Great Stūpa. *Sanchi.* 1st century B.C.



22. Viśvantara Jātaka; left half of middle section of lowest beam of North gate, Great Stūpa. *Sanchi.* 1st century B.C.



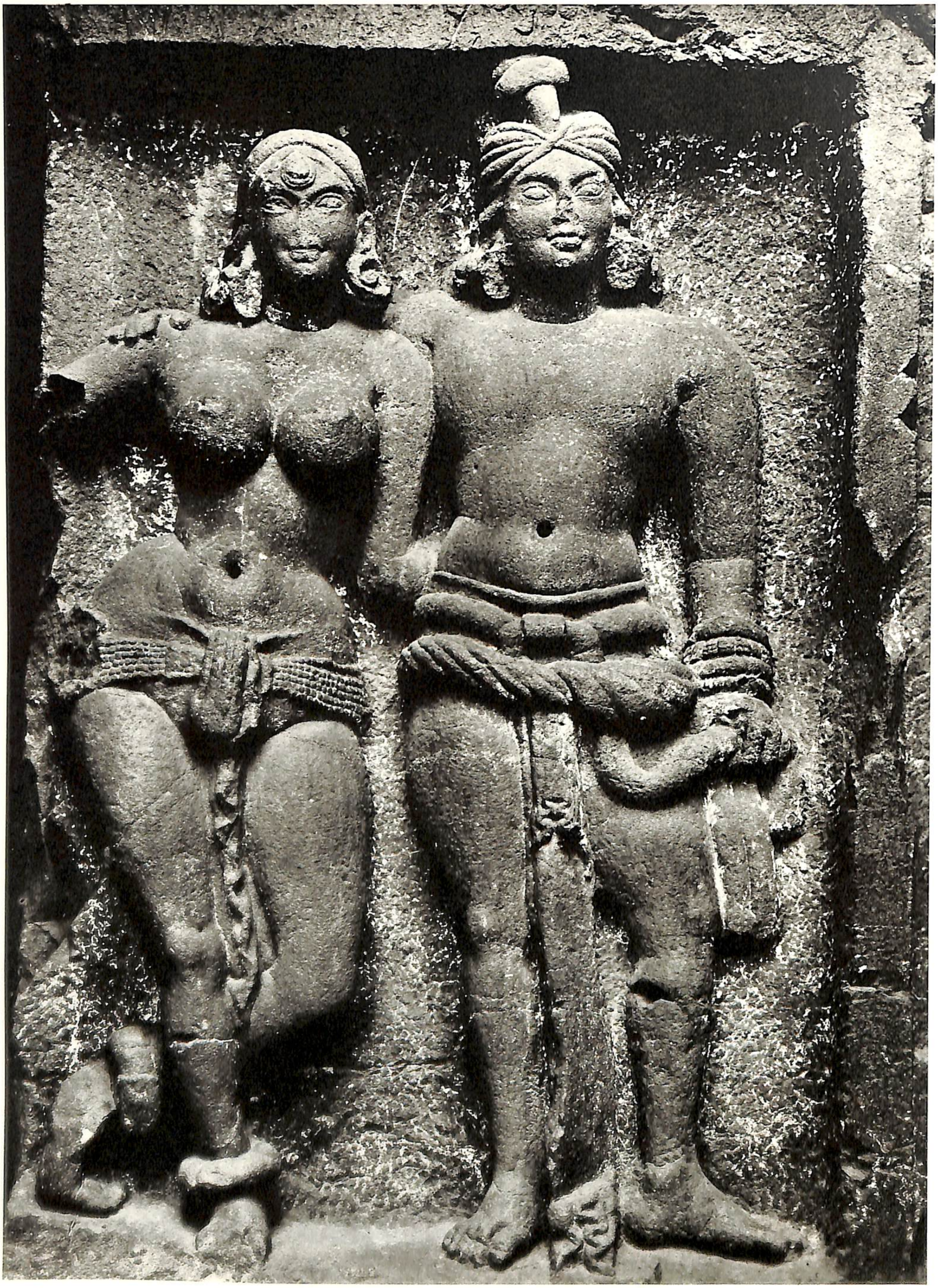
23. Viśvantara Jātaka; right half of middle section of lowest beam of North gate, Great Stūpa. *Sanchi.* 1st century B.C.



24. Tree and woman, bracket of end of lowest beam of East gate, Great Stūpa. *Sanchi.* 1st century B.C.



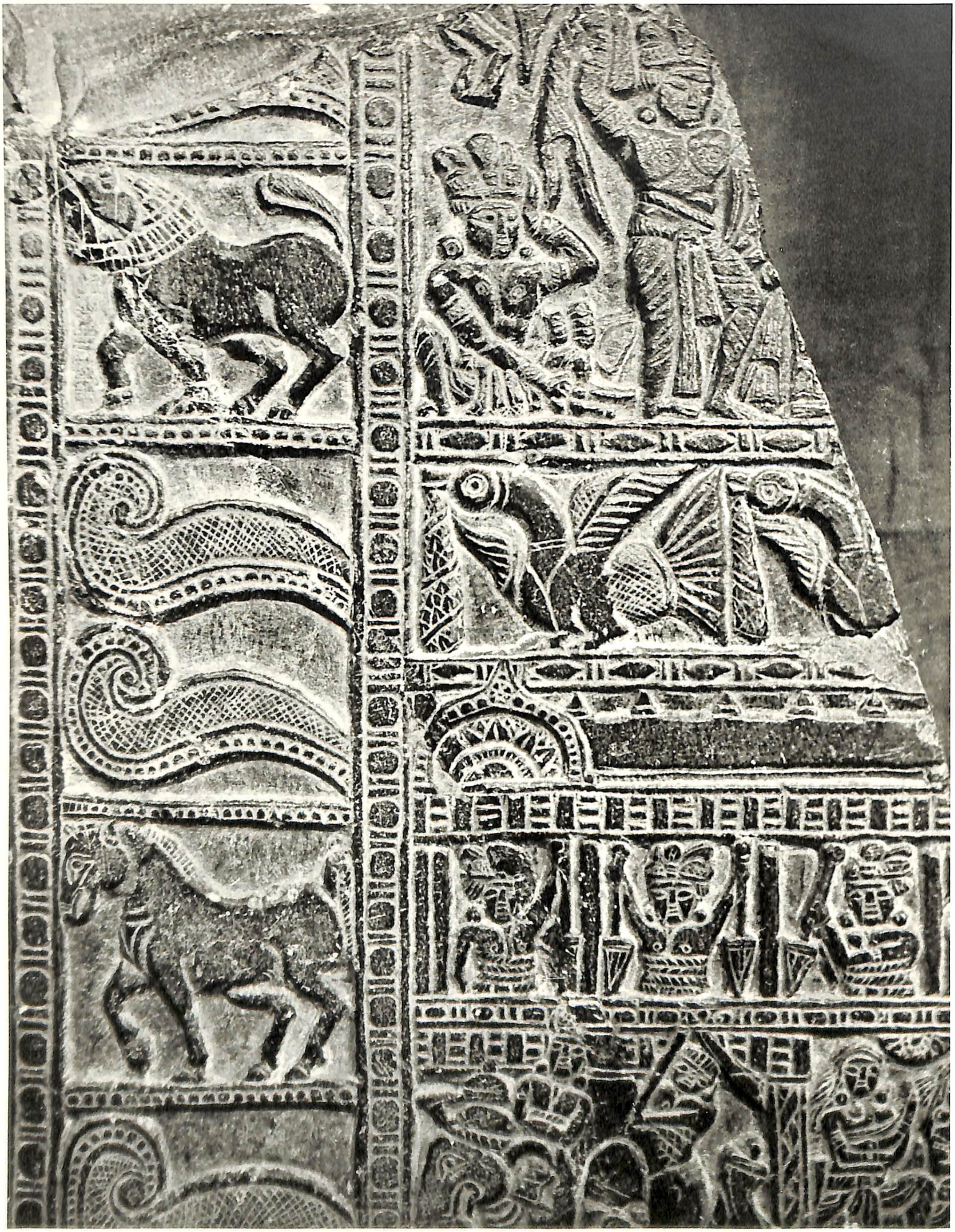
25. Yakṣī torso from *Sanchi; now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.* 1st century B.C.



26. Dampatī: couple standing in panel on façade of rock-cut Buddhist temple. Trapstone. *Karle, Bombay State.* 1st century A.D.



27. Dancing couple (cf. pl. 26). *Karle.* 1st century A.D.



28. The war over the relics of the Buddha; fragment, detail. White limestone. *Amarāvatī, South East Deccan (Andhra Pradesh); now Government Museum, Madras.* About 2nd century B.C.



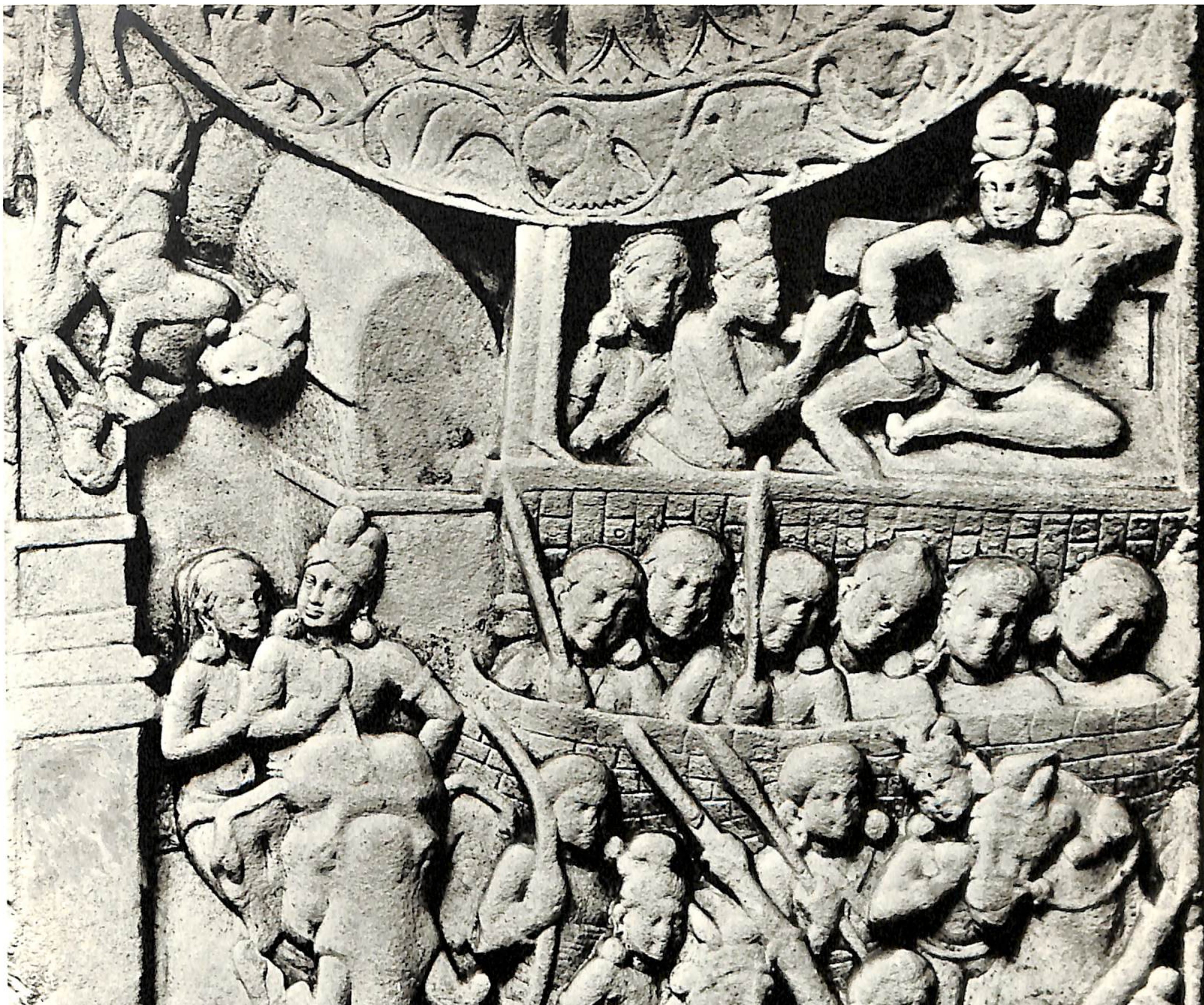
29. The Bath of the Bodhisattva. White limestone. *Amarāvatī; now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.* Early 2nd century A.D.



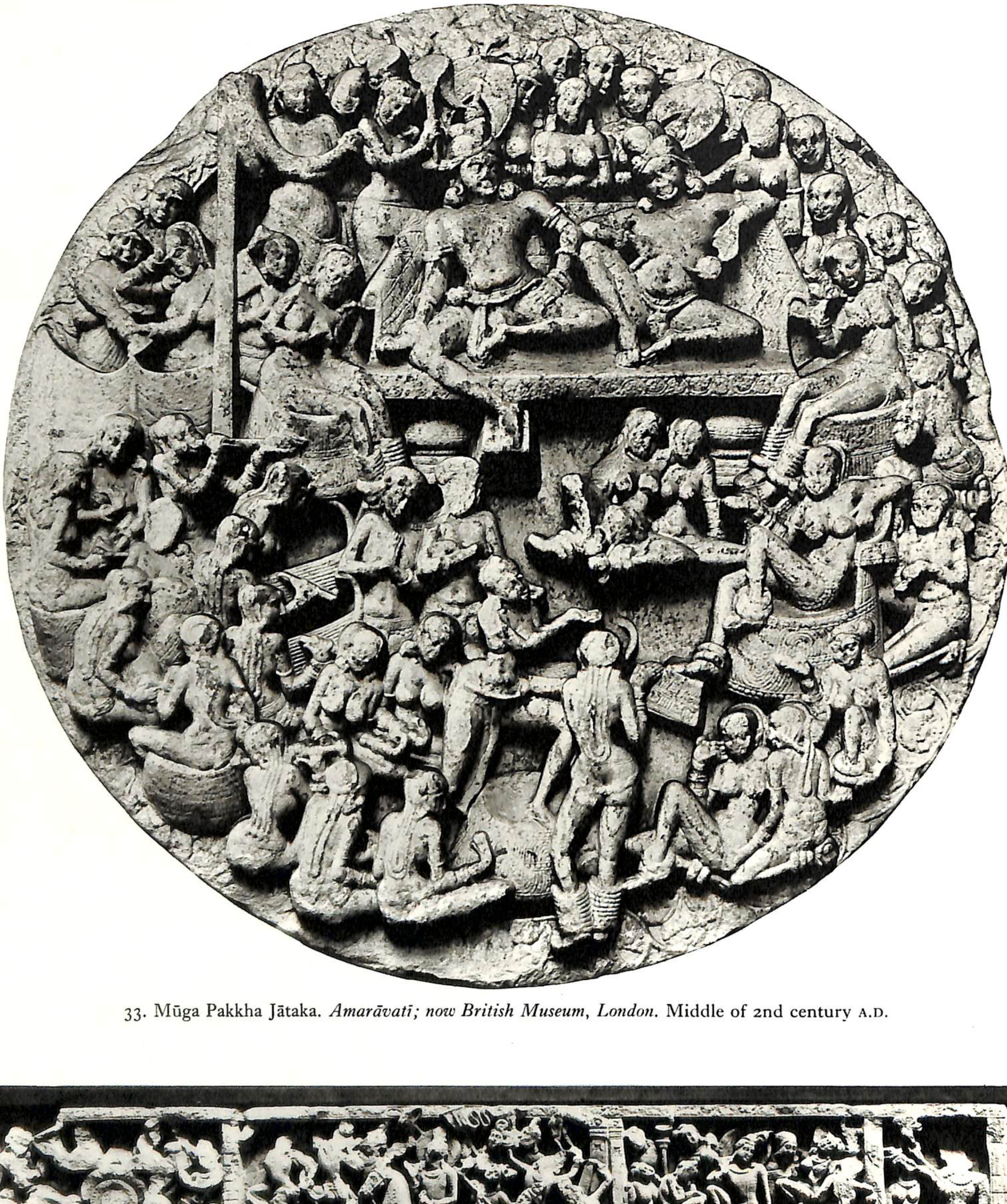
30. Presentation of gifts to a king (Bandhuma?). Roundel of crossbar of railing of Stūpa. White limestone.
Amarāvatī; now Government Museum, Madras. About A.D. 200.



31. Scene of homage under lotus with lotus border. Fragment of railing pillar. White limestone.
Amarāvatī; now Government Museum, Madras. Middle of 2nd century A.D.



32. Scene of Valour, on part of railing pillar. *Amarāvatī; now British Museum, London.* Middle of 2nd century A.D.



33. Mūga Pakkha Jātaka. *Amarāvatī; now British Museum, London.* Middle of 2nd century A.D.



34. The Great Departure. *Amarāvatī; now British Museum, London.* About A.D. 200.



35. Ghata Jātaka; on top, lion and griffin frieze. White limestone. Fragment from Stūpa. *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Andhra.* 3rd century A.D.



36. The tonsure of Sākyamuni. Trapstone. *Kanheri, Bombay State; now Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.* 6th century A.D.



37. Stone bowl supported by female figure. Sandstone.
From Fyzabad; now Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Hindu University, Banaras.
1st century A.D.



38. Bodhisattva or attendant. Sandstone.
Mathurā, U.P.; now Mathurā Museum.
2nd century A.D.



39. Yakṣī; a balcony above, with figure of man asleep. Sandstone. *Jaisinghpur, U.P.; now Mathurā Museum.* 2nd century A.D.



40. Head of image of a Jain Saviour (Tirthaṅkara). *Mathurā; now Mathurā Museum.* About 4th century.



41. Image of Buddha. The robe tinted ochre, the lips red. *Bodh-gayā, Bihar; now National Museum of India, New Delhi.* 4th century.



42. Two worshippers in procession, within arched niche. *Gandhāra; now Private Collection, Delhi.* 3rd century.



43. Head of Image of Bodhisattva. Stucco. *Gandhāra School, Pakistan; now City Art Museum, St. Louis, Missouri.* 4th century.



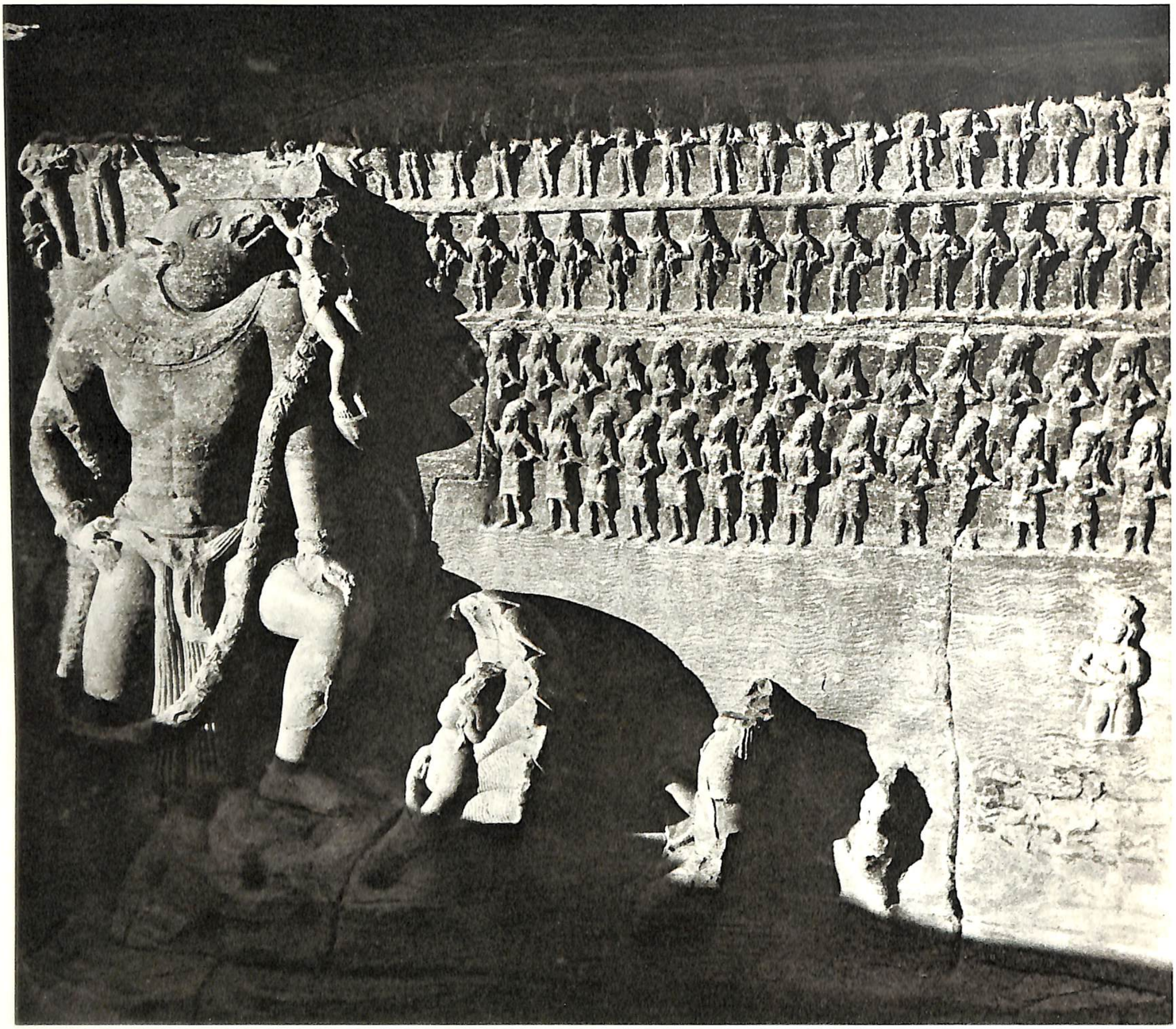
44. Head of Image of Buddha. *Gandhāra, Pakistan; now Victoria and Albert Museum, London.* 5th century.



45. Head of Image of Bodhisattva. Stucco. *Hadda, Afghanistan; now Seattle Art Museum.* 4th–5th century.



46. Ekamukha Śiva Liṅga in cave temple (Temple No. 4), *Udayagiri, Madhya Pradesh.* Beginning of 5th century.



47. The Boar Avatār of Viṣṇu. Rock Sculpture. *Udayagiri.* Beginning of 5th century.



48. Entrance of Viṣṇu temple. *Deogarh, U.P.* Early 6th century.



49. Terracotta head; tooled. *Pawaya; now Gwalior Fort, Archaeological Museum, Madhya Pradesh.* 6th century.



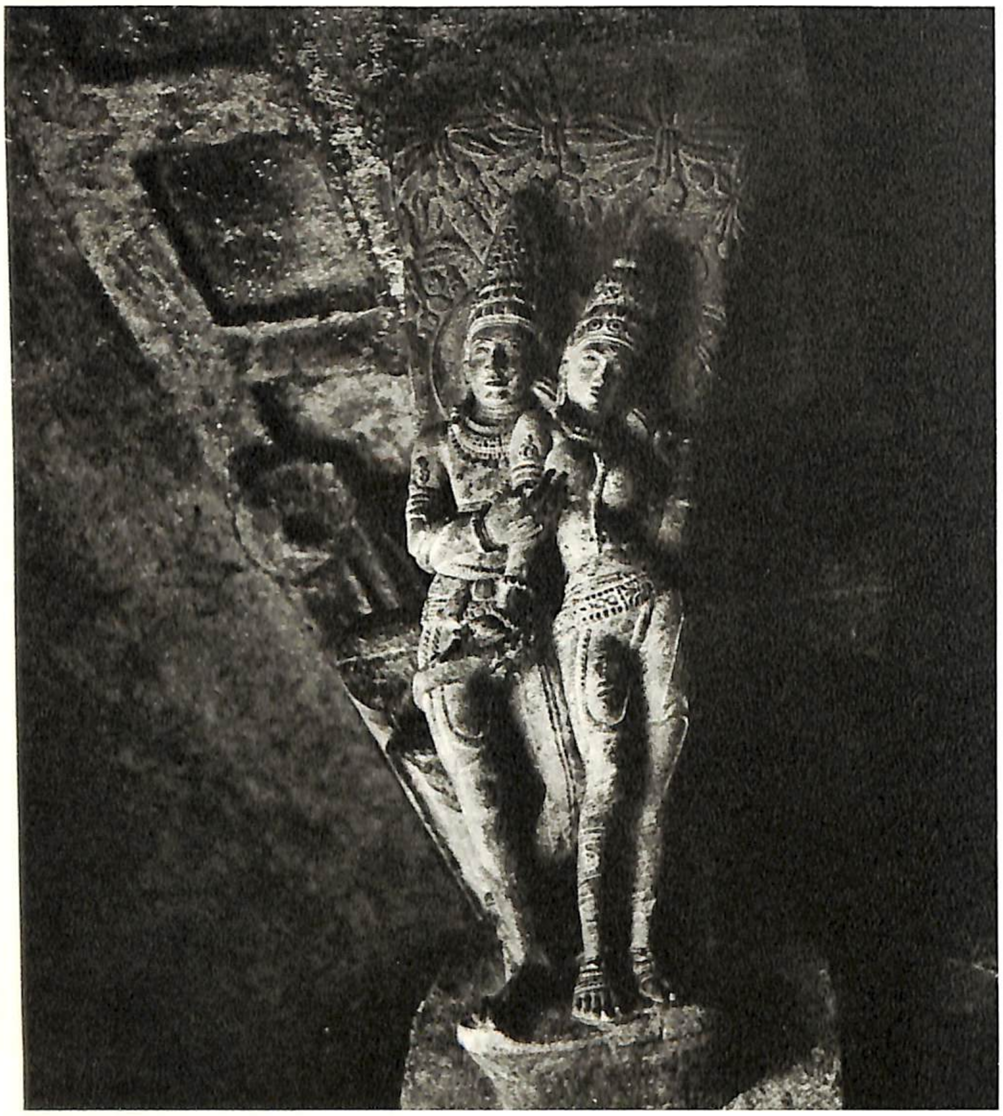
50. Head of Buddha image. *Sarnath; now National Museum of India, New Delhi.* Early 6th century.



51. Ratha; projection on South face of Viṣṇu temple (see Plate 48), with recessed niche showing Viṣṇu lying on the World Serpent 'Endless'. *Deogarh, U.P.* Early 6th century.



52. Detail from plate 51.





53. Celestial Couples and trees.
Brackets of capitals in rock-cut Viṣṇu temple (Cave III).
Badami, South West Deccan (Maisur). 578.



54. Attendant divinities (Indra), on right and left of image of Mahāvīra. *Nadiā* (*Sirohi*), *South Rājasthān*. 7th century.



55. Portrait head of a Lady. *Mathurā; now Mathurā Museum.* 5th century (?) or earlier.



56. Jīvantasvāmī. Light-coloured bronze, eyes inlaid with silver, lower lip inlaid with copper. *Akota, Baroda; now Baroda Museum.* About 6th century.



57. Temples of Makuṭeśvaranātha (in worship; whitewashed), Saṅgameśvara, and Liṅga shrine in Viṣṇu's Lotus Pond.
Mahakut, near Badami, Maisur. About 600.



58. Temple (No. 10). *Aiholi, South West Deccan* (*Maisur*). 6th–7th century.



59. Kinnara couple; panel on ceiling of hall of rock-cut Śiva temple. *Aiholi.* 7th century.



60. Ceiling panel with Kinnara couple, fish and lotuses. Main hall of rock-cut Jaina temple. *Aiholi.* About 700.



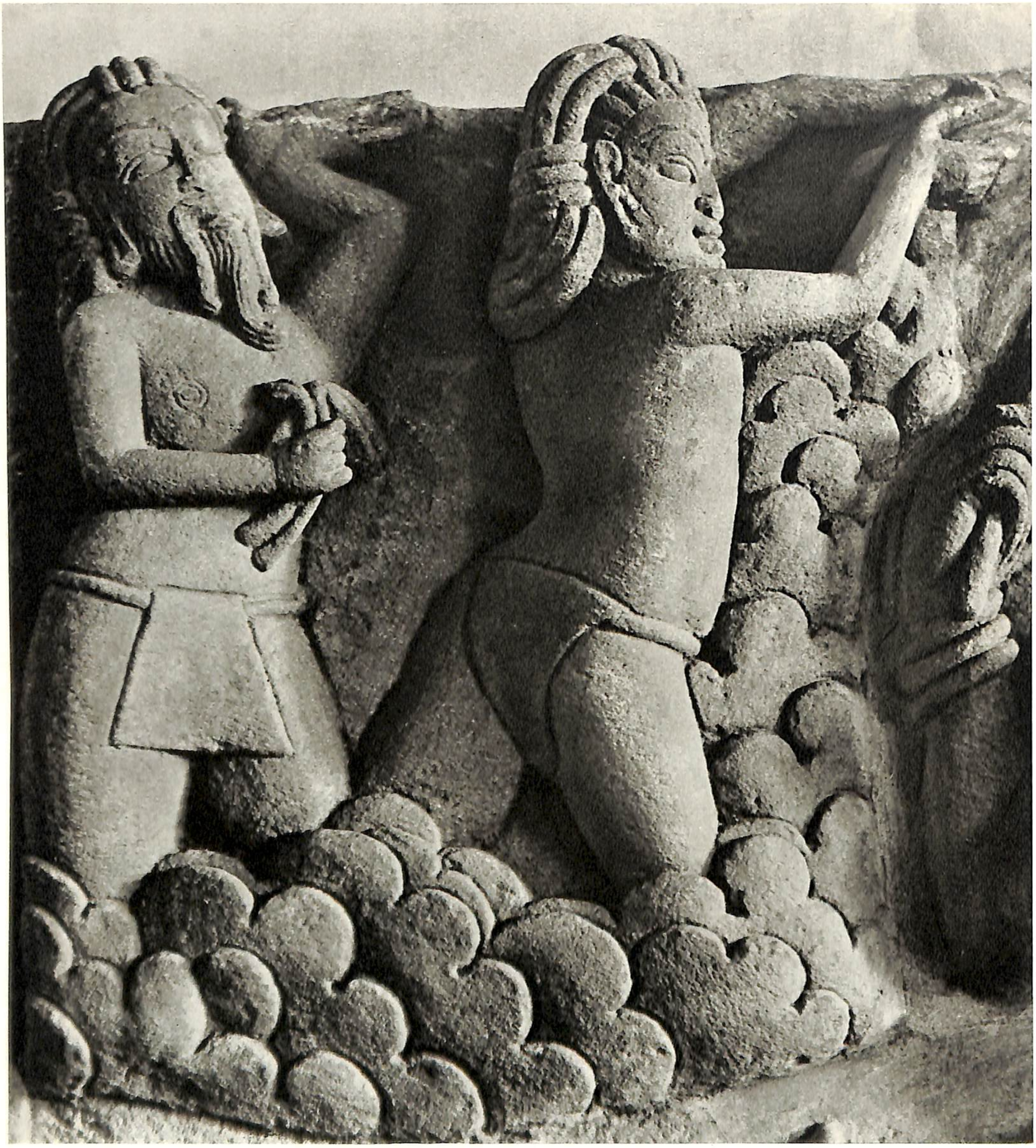
61. Śiva Vṛṣavāhana; image on wall. 'Durga' temple. *Aiholi*. 7th century.



62. Viṣṇu Anantaśayana, ceiling panel from hall (maṇḍapa) of Haccappya-guḍi (Temple No. 9). *Aiholi; now Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.* 7th–8th century.



63. Brahmā (cf. pl. 62). From Haccappya-guḍi. *Aiholi; now Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.*



64. Deva-ṛiṣis with flower offering, in clouds. Detail of pl. 63.



65. Ṛiṣi and Haṃsa. Detail of pl. 63.



66. North wall (East part) with images of Kapila and Viṣṇu Varāha, and a Śaiva image. Virūpākṣa Temple. *Pattadakal, South West Deccan.* About 740.



67. Haṃsa on North wall. Virūpākṣa Temple. *Pattadakal.* About 740.



68. Flying Vidyādhara, on East wall. Virūpākṣa Temple. *Pattadakal.* About 740.



69. Couple embracing; East face of Nandī Maṇḍapa. Virūpākṣa Temple. *Pattadakal*. About 740.



70. Mallikārjuna Temple, from South West. *Pattadakal.* About 745.



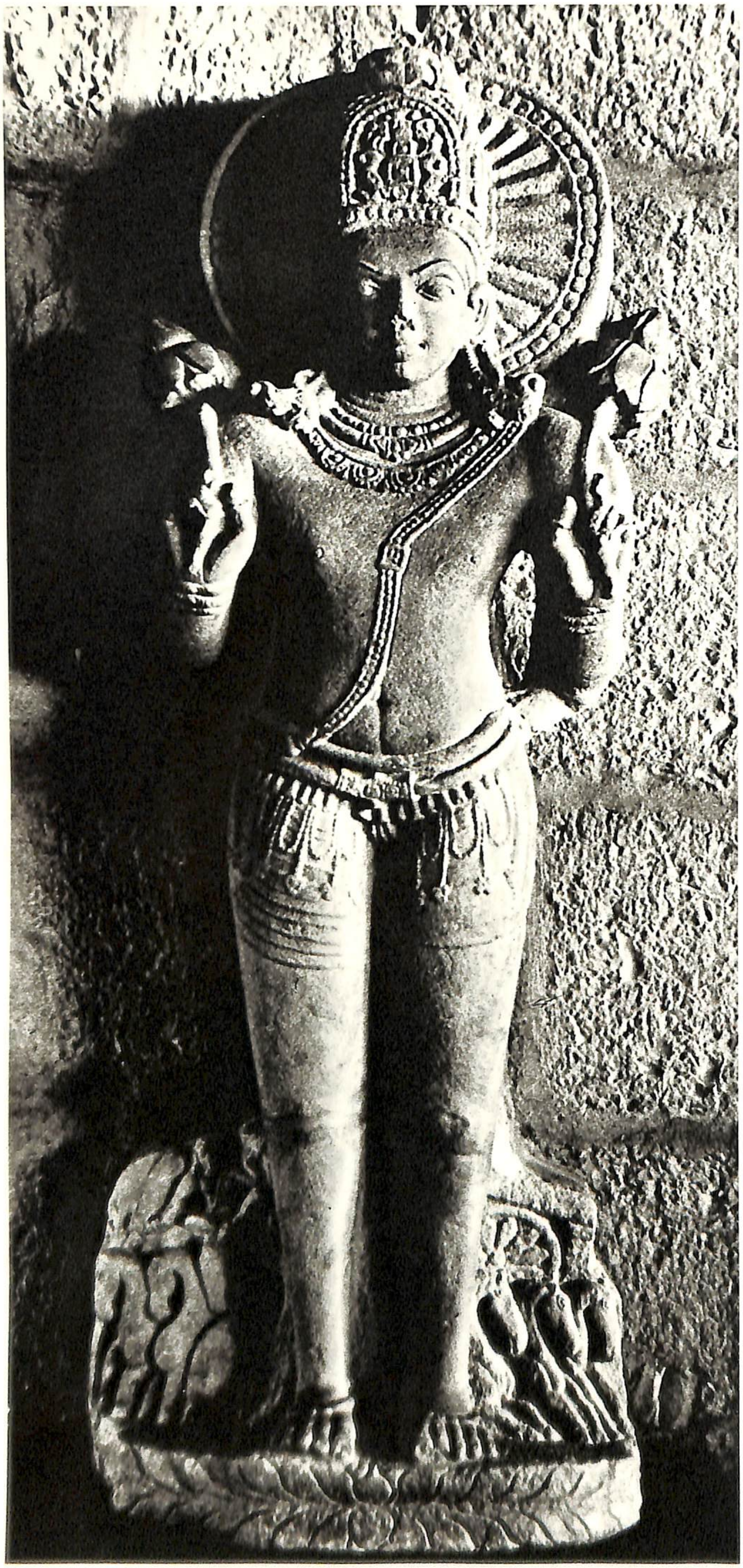
71. Panel of pillar in hall, with scenes from the Devādaruvana legend (?) in the middle, between scrolls above, and Gaṇas surrounded by festoons below. Mallikārjuna Temple. *Pattadakal.* About 745.



72. Bhairava dancing, on South wall (upper part of image only). Mallikārjuna Temple. *Pattadakal*. About 745.



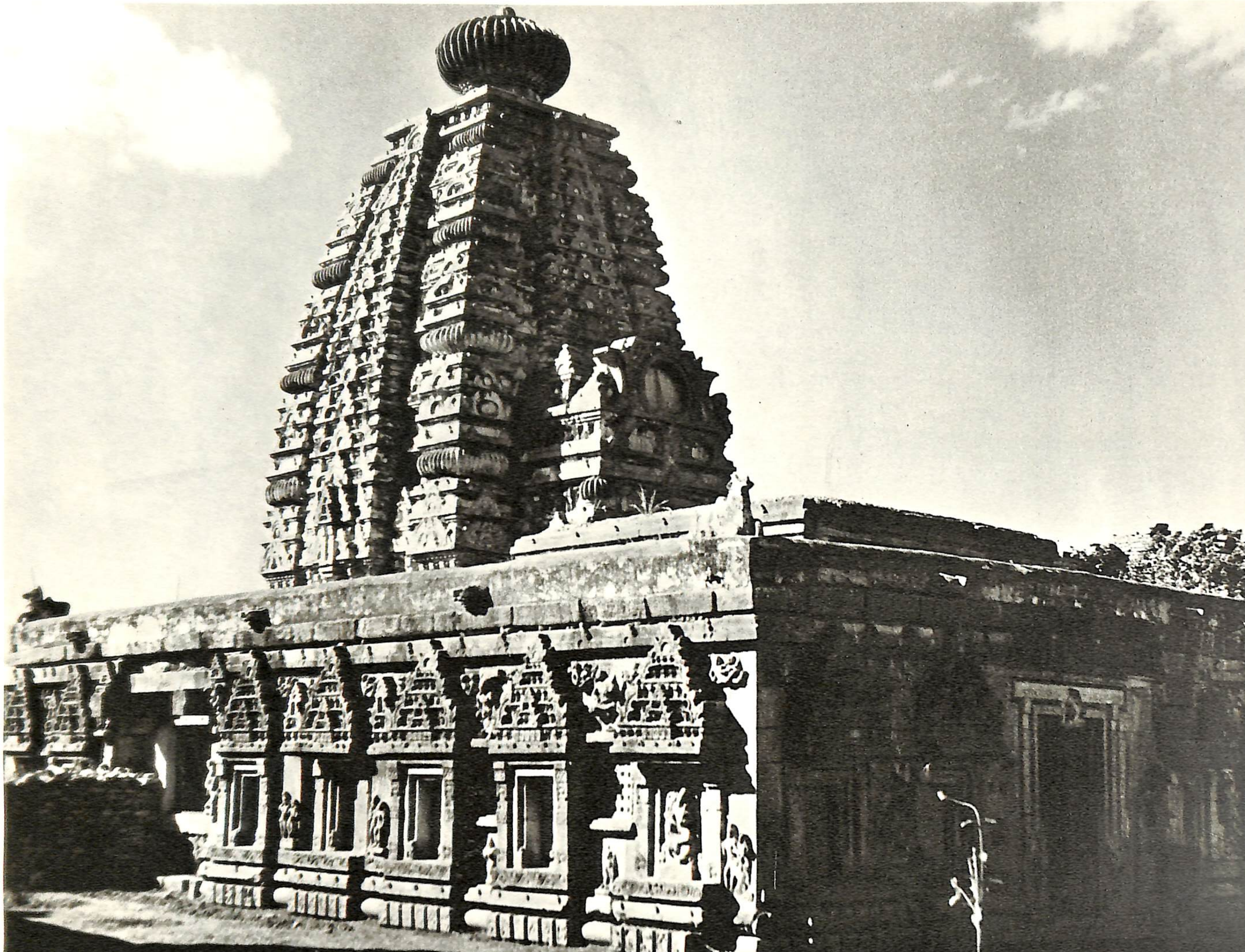
73. Attendant divinity holding fly-whisk. On South wall of Viśva-Brahmā Temple.
Alampur, South Deccan (Andhra Pradesh). About 8th century.



74. Sūrya, the Sun God. *Alampur, Museum.* 7th–8th century



75. Two faces above brimming vase; capital of pilaster, Svarga-Brahmā Temple, South face. *Alampur*. Late 7th century (681?).



76. Viśva-Brahmā Temple, from South East. *Alampur*. 8th century.



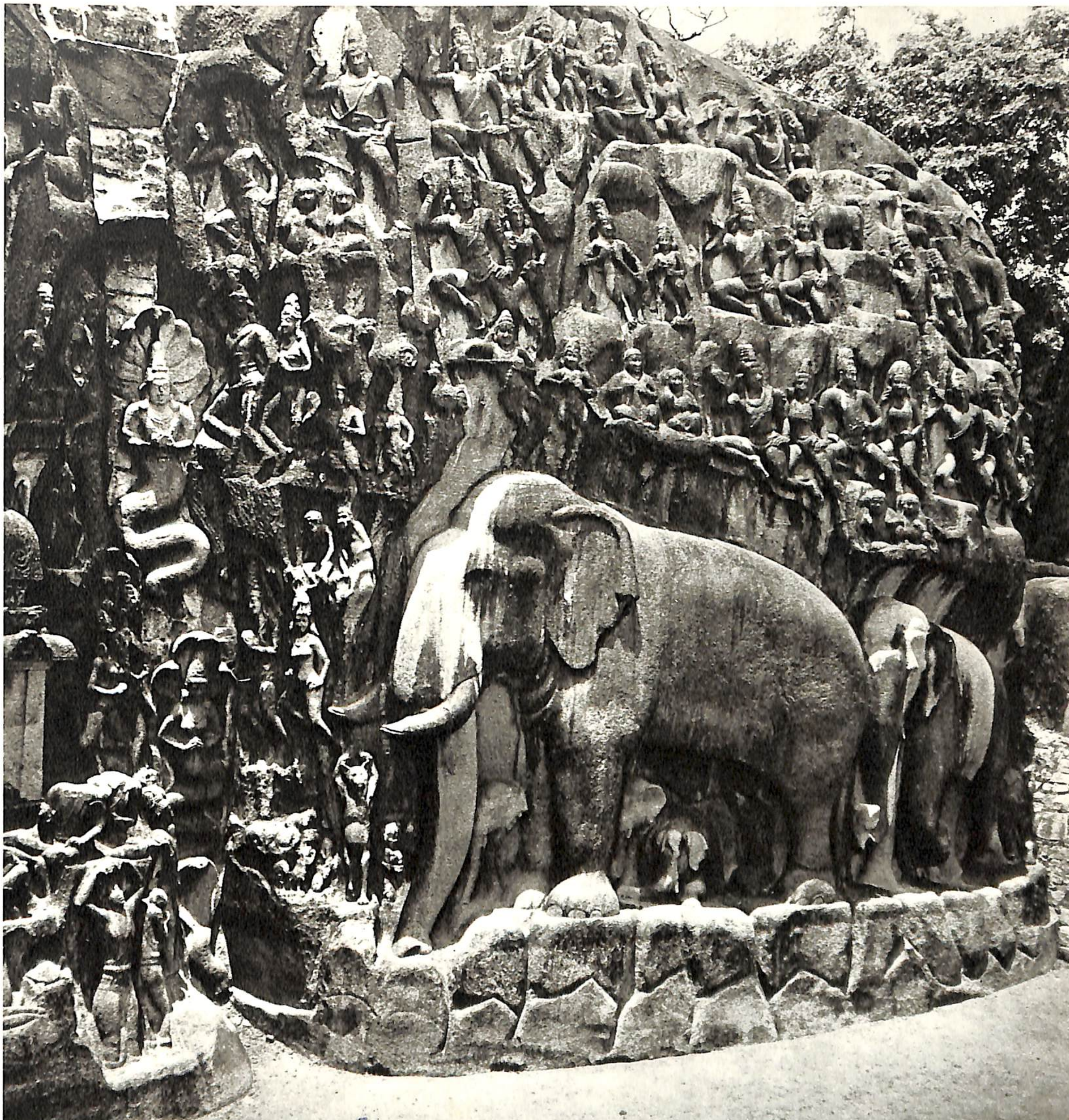
77. Vidyādharas flying with lotus bud and mirror, Svarga Brahmā Temple. *Alampur*. Late 7th century (681?).



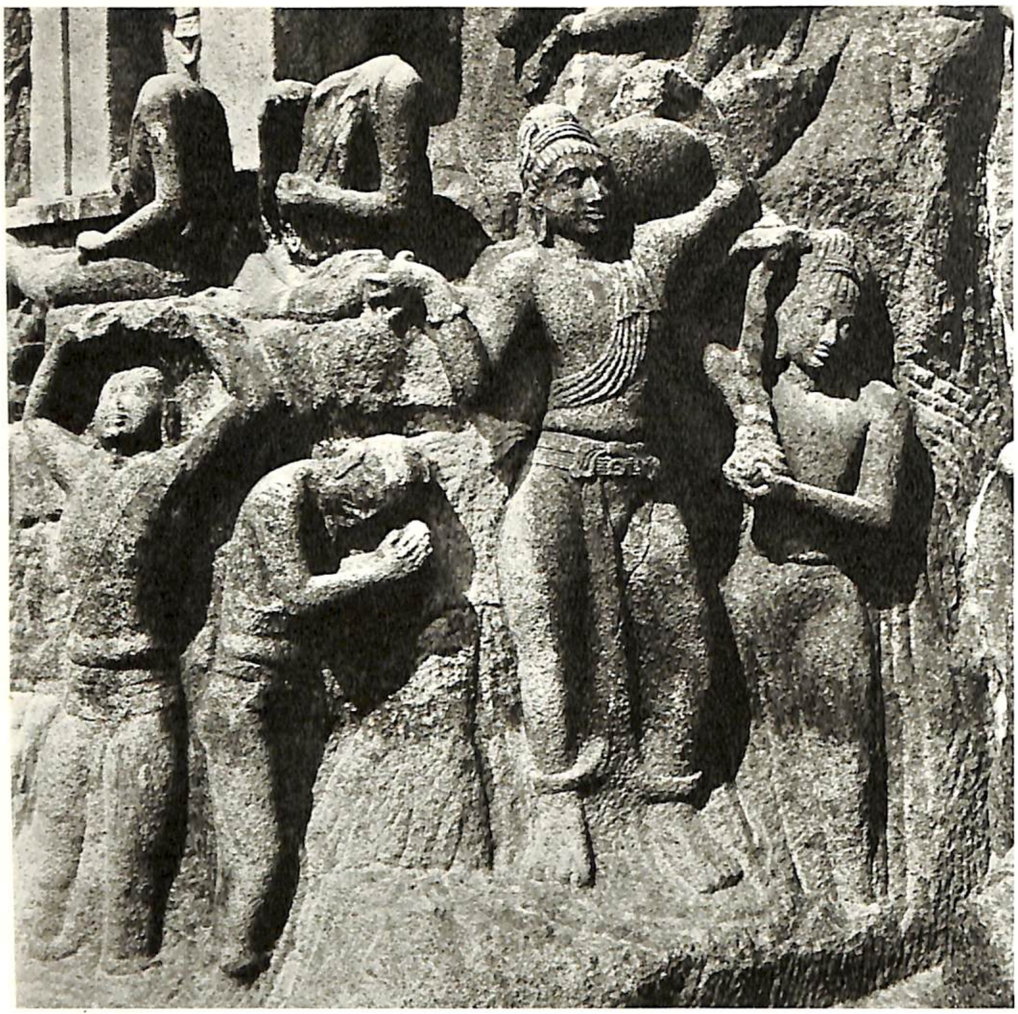
78. Nakula-Sahadeva Ratha, Lion and Elephant Vāhanas. Rock-cut. *Māmallapuram, near Madras.* About middle of 7th century.

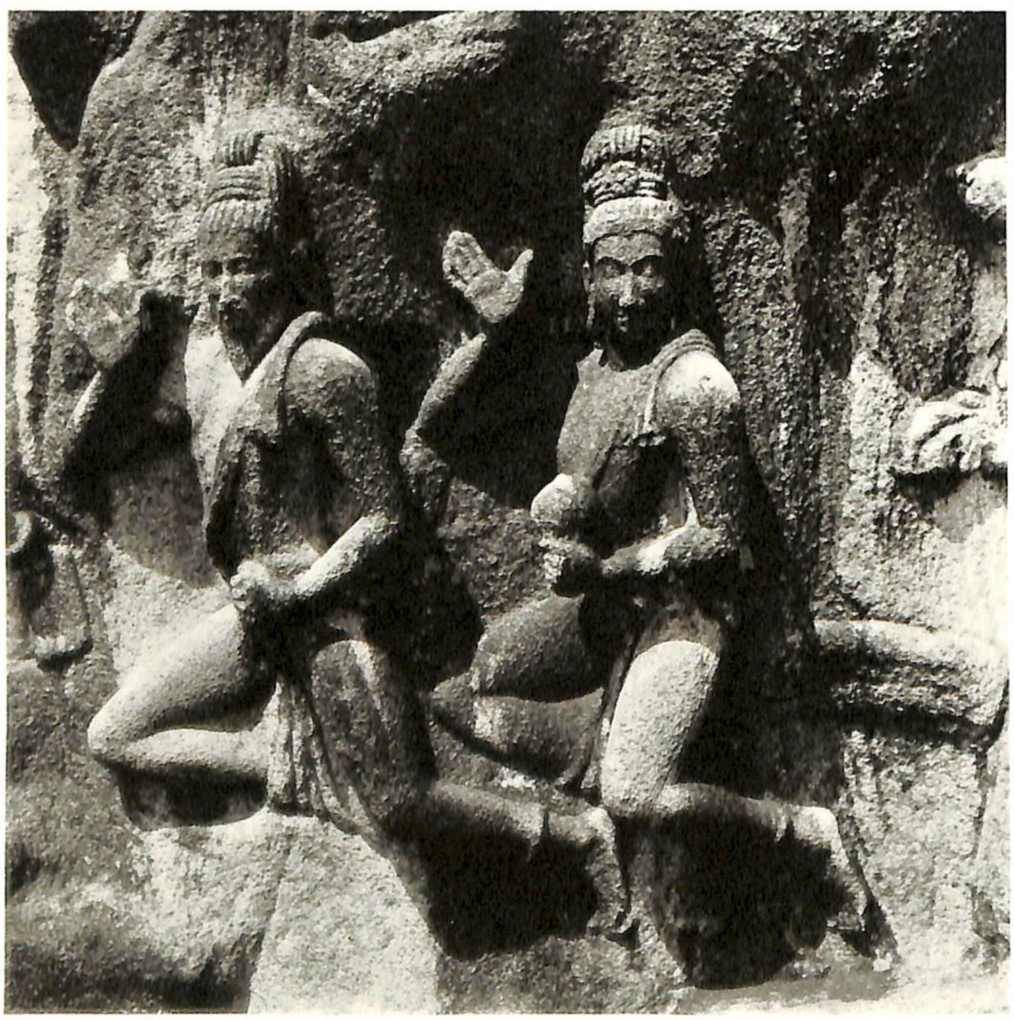


79. Monkeys. *Māmallapuram.* About middle of 7th century.

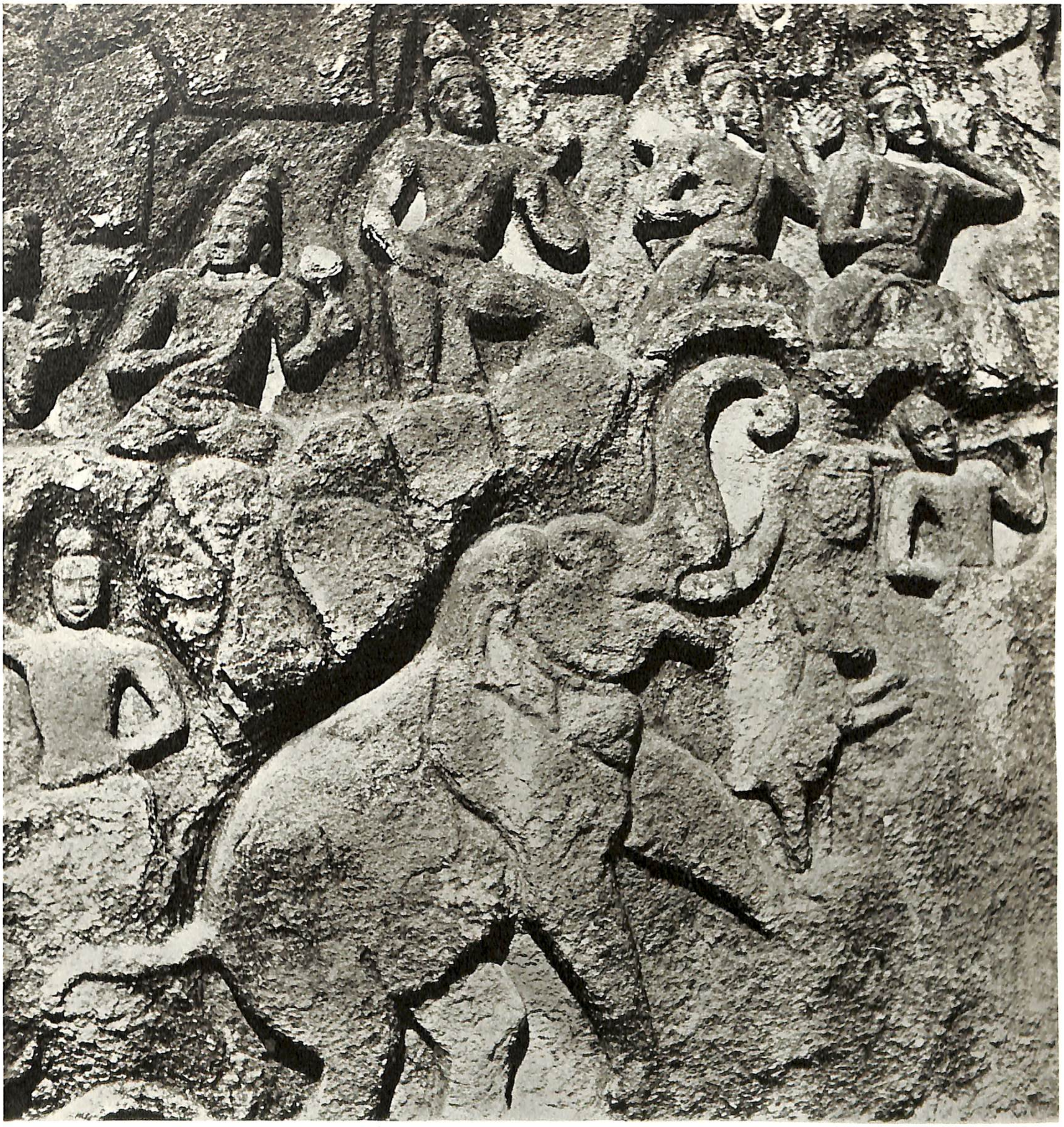


80. Kirātārjunīya; part of rock-cut relief. *Māmallapuram.* About middle of 7th century.





81–82. Two details from Kirātārjunīya relief; cf. pl. 80.



83. Part of an unfinished relief (cf. pl. 80) on another rock boulder. *Māmallapuram.* About middle of 7th century.



84. Viṣṇu Anantaśayana. Rock-cut relief. *Māmallapuram.* About middle of 7th century.



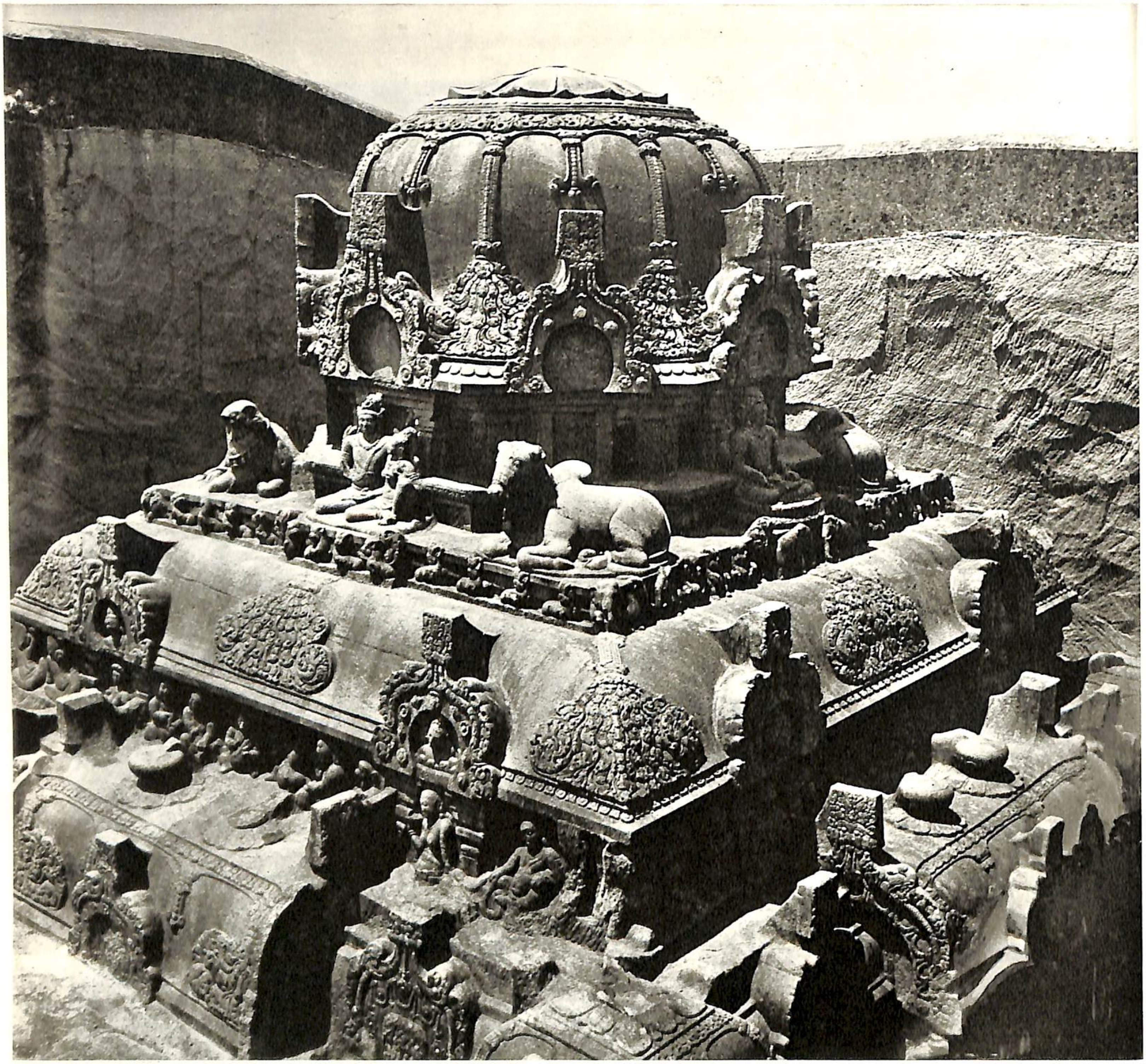
85. The three strides of Viṣṇu. Rock-cut. *Māmallapuram*. About middle of 7th century.



86. Durgā killing the Buffalo Demon. Rock-cut. *Māmallapuram*. About middle of 7th century.



87. Jalaśayana Temple and small Śiva Temple. *Māmallapuram*. Between 680 and 720.



88. Veṭṭuvānkoil; Dome and upper storeys, rock-cut; from North-East. *Kalugumalai, South India*. About 8th century.



89. Veṭṭuvānkoil, from South; cf. pl. 88.



90. Nandin, on corner of top platform (vedi) of Veṭṭuvānkoil. *Kalugumalai.* About 8th century.



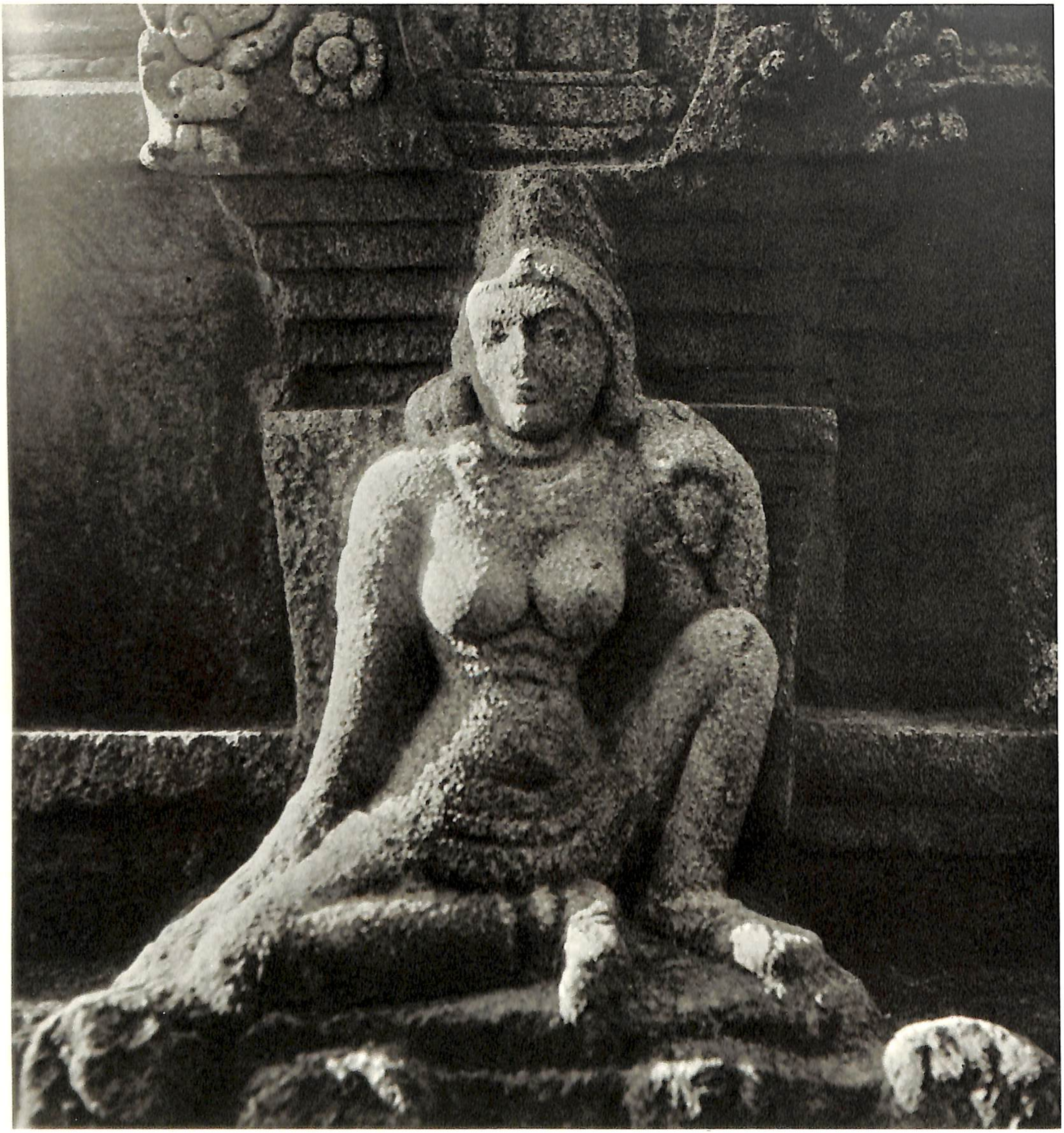
91. Surasundarī; in recess below cornice (cf. pls. 88 and 89). About 8th century.



92. Viṣṇu; West Face, lower part of Veṭṭuvānkoil. *Kalugumalai*. About 8th century.



93. Skanda; on North Face, Veṭṭuvānkoil. *Kalugumalai.* About 8th century.



94. Dig-Devī, North Face, East corner. Vettuvānkoil. *Kalugumalai*. About 8th century.



95. Pārśvanātha, Yakṣa Dharaṇendra and Yakṣī Padmāvatī. Part view of rock-cut image. *Kalugumalai.* About 8th century.



96. Woman worshipping; detail of one of the figures of a group of worshippers in Buddhist Cave Temple III. *Aurangabad, Deccan (Mahārāshṭra).* Rock-cut. 6th century.



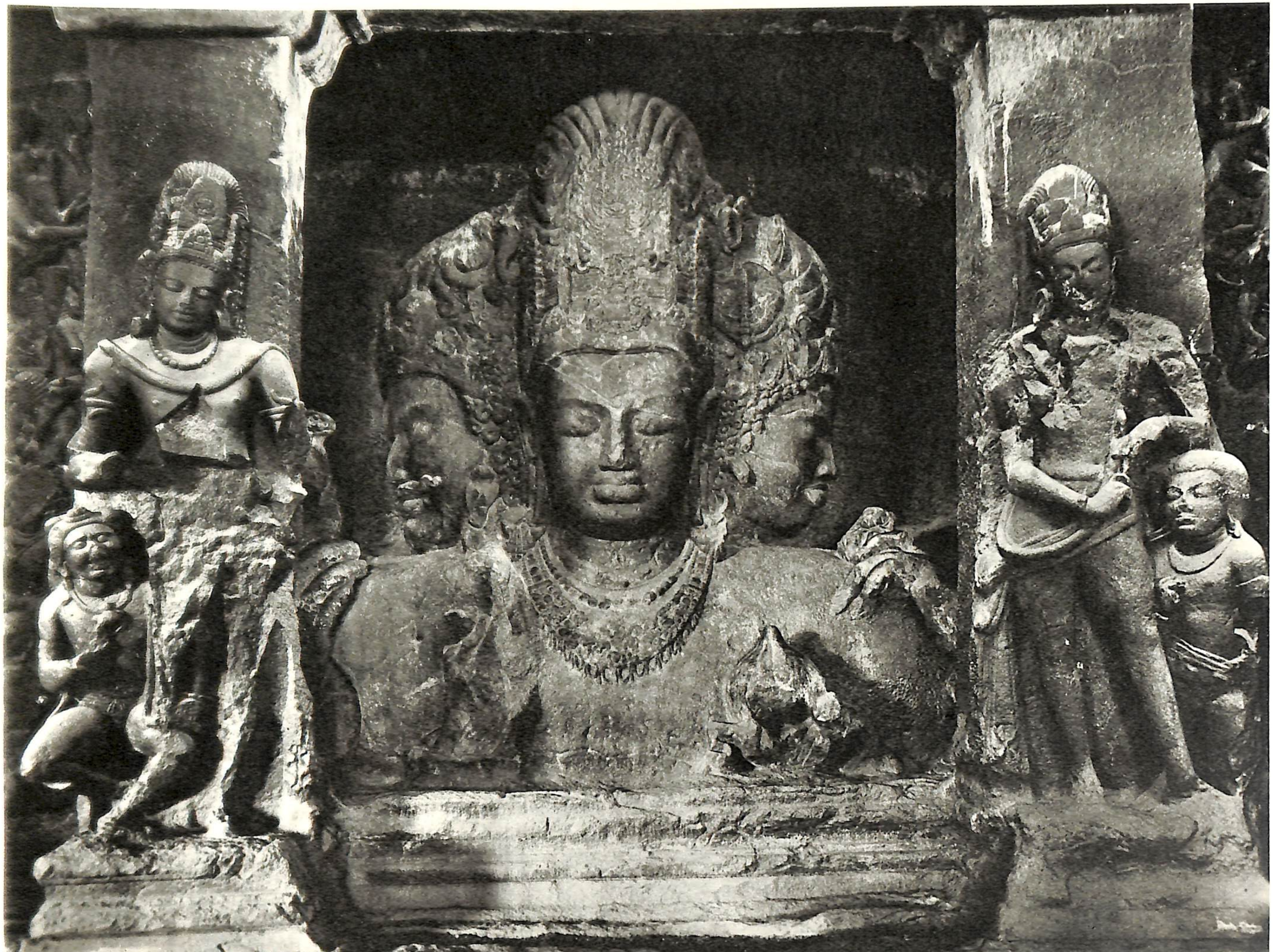
97. Woman worshipping; detail. Buddhist Cave Temple III. Rock-cut. *Aurangabad*. 6th century.



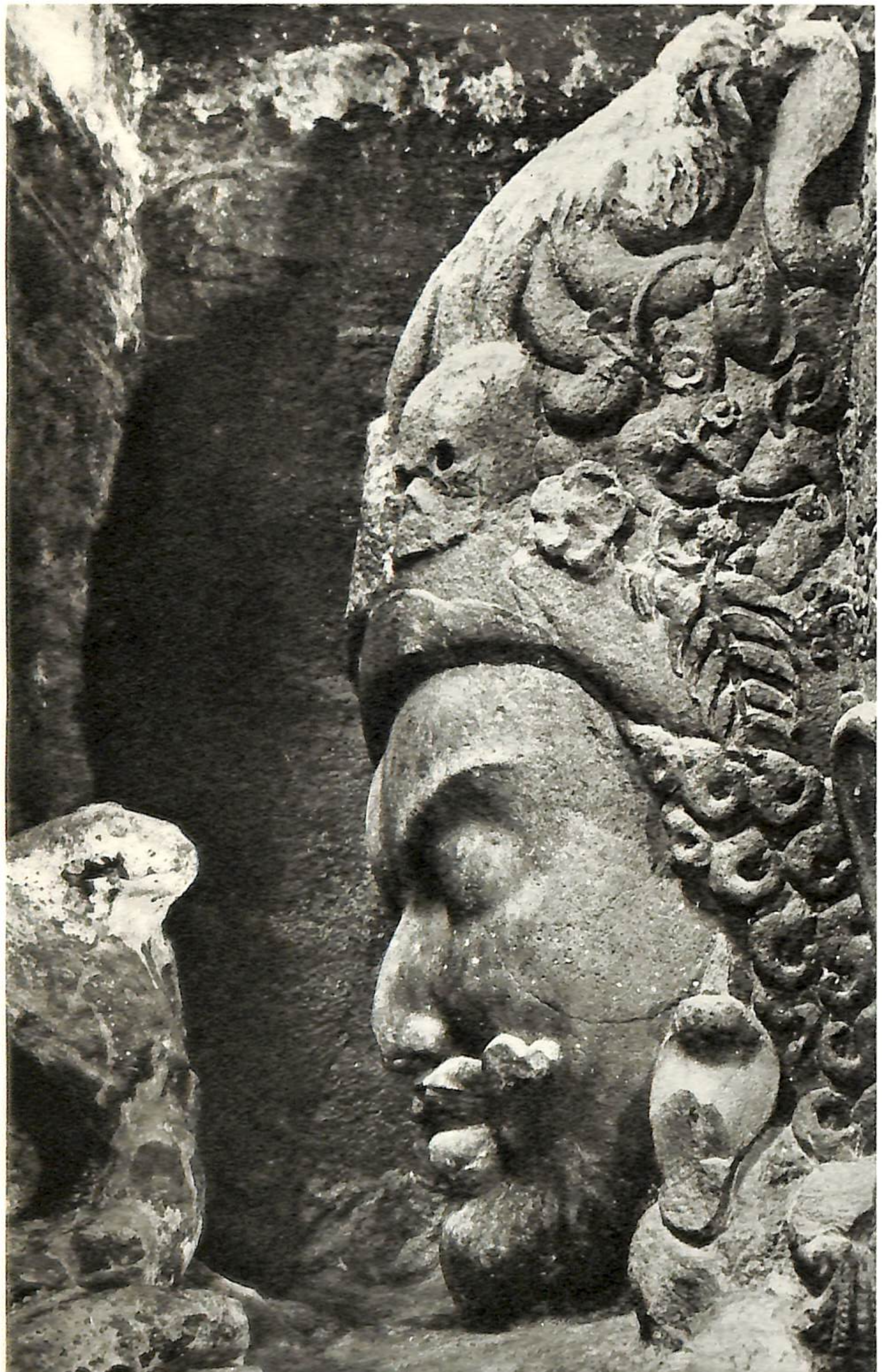
98. Attendant Goddess holding a casket; detail of "The austerities of Pārvatī". Rāmeśvara Cave Temple. Rock-cut. *Elura, Deccan.* 6th century.



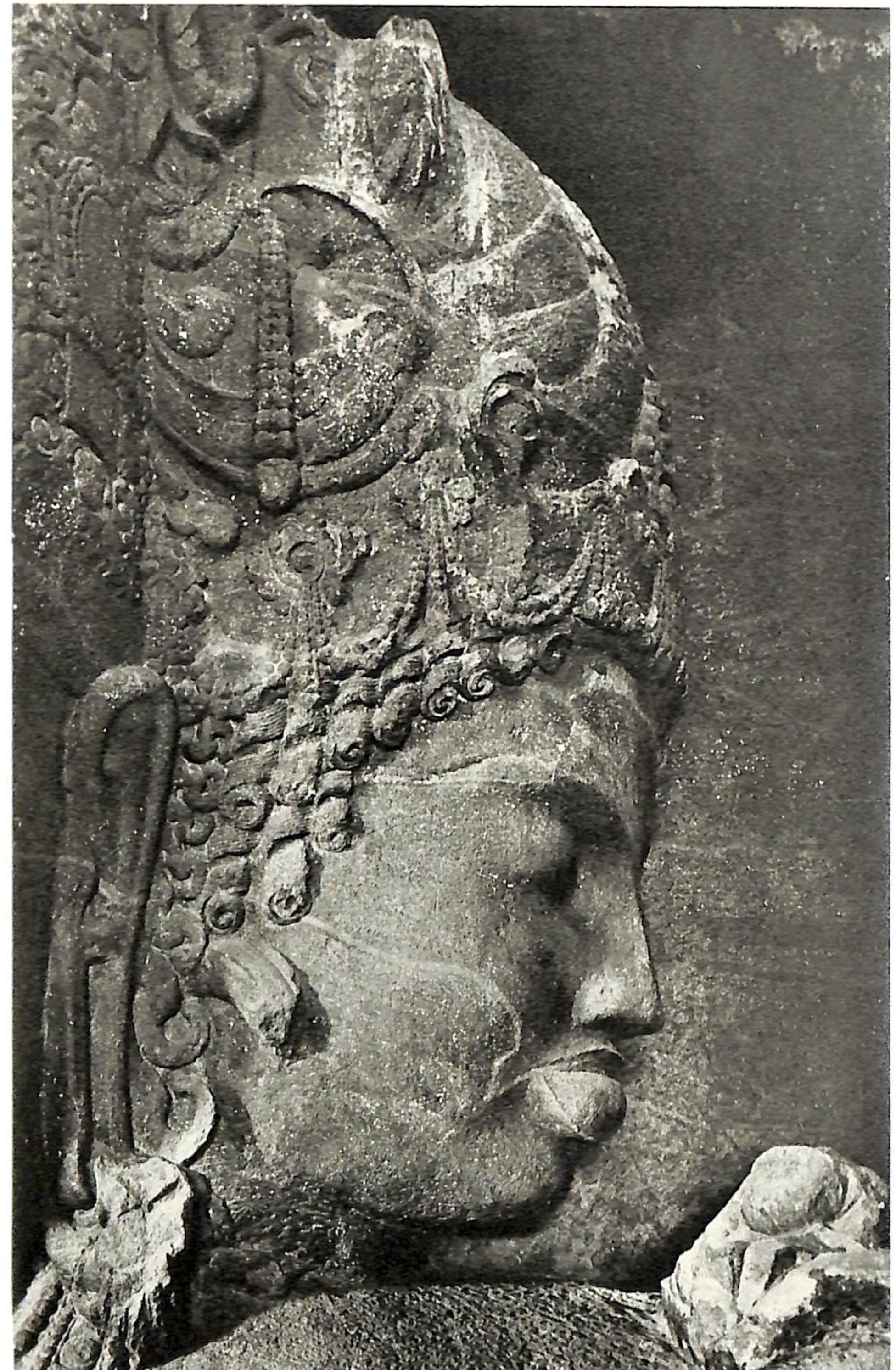
99. Śiva Tāṇḍava (detail). Rock-cut. *Elephanta* (*Bombay*). 6th–early 7th century.



100. Mahādeva. Rock-cut. *Elephanta*. 6th–early 7th century.



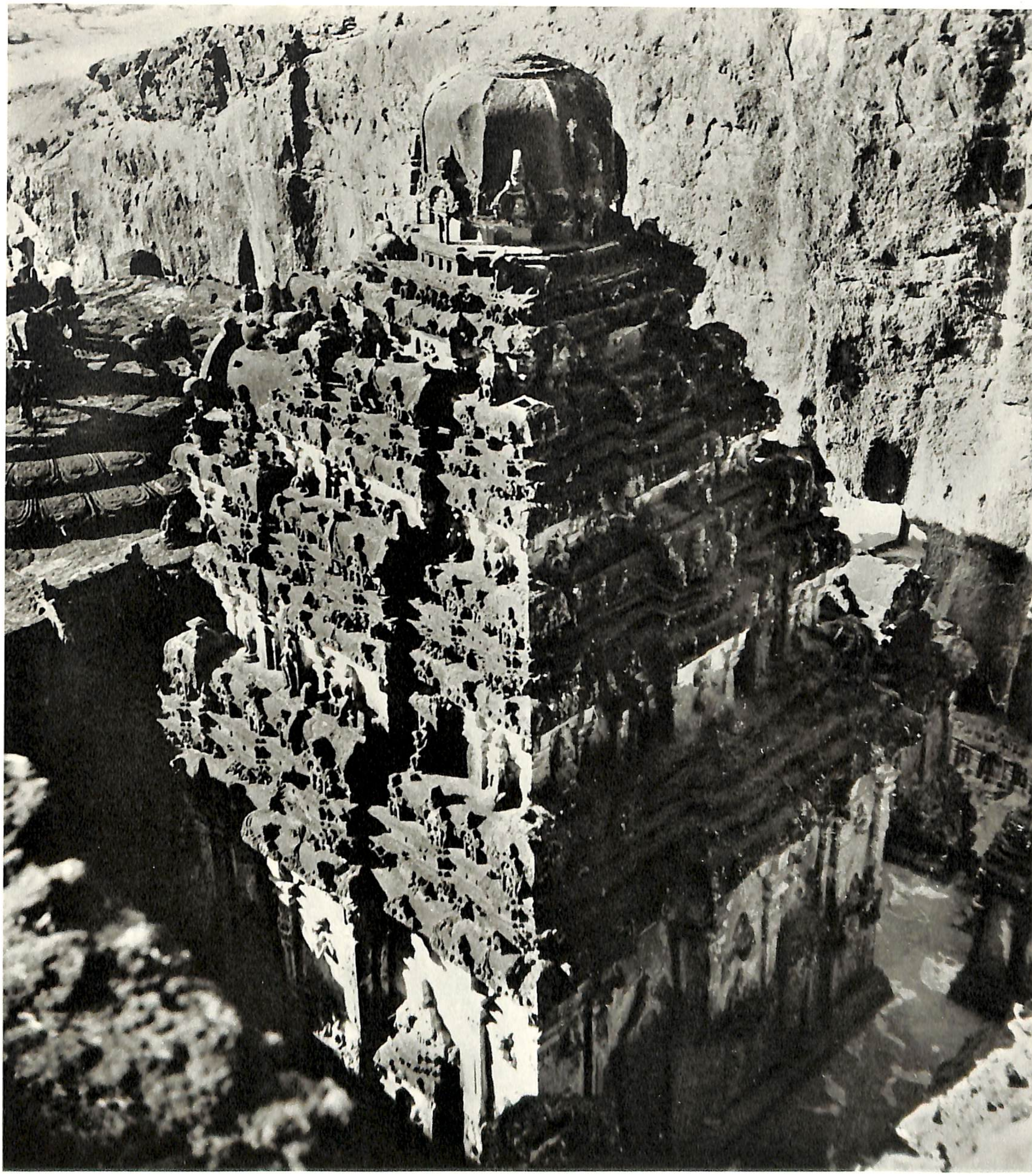
101. The Face of Aghora-Bhairava; detail of Plate 100.



102. The Face of Vāmadeva-Umā; detail of Plate 100.



103. Marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī (detail). Rock-cut. *Dhūmar Leṇā, Elura*. 7th century.



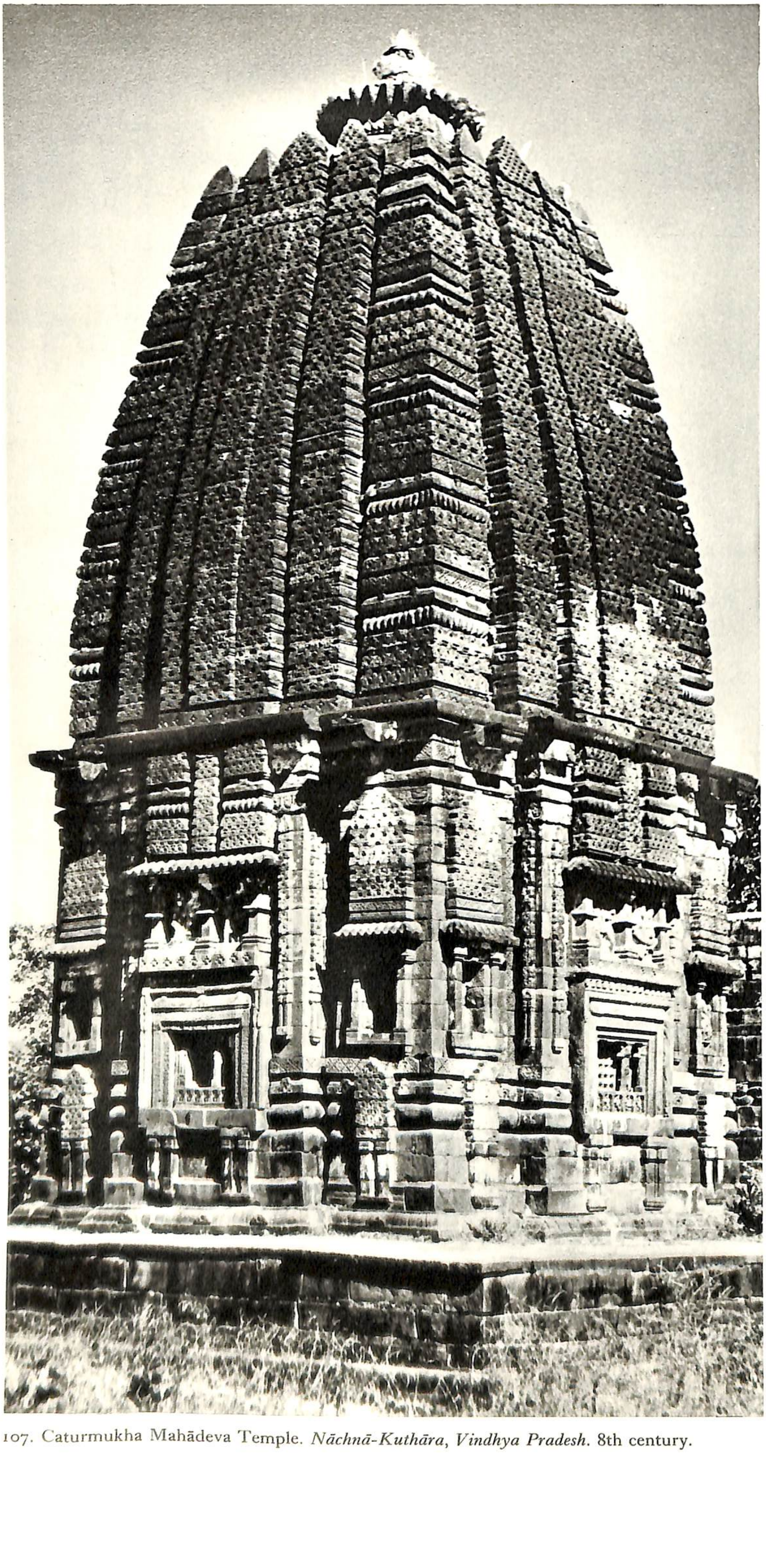
104. Kailāsanātha Temple (from South-West). The Sanctuary proper (Vimāna) and roof of Maṇḍapa in front, between surrounding cliffs. Rock-cut. *Elura.* Second half of 8th century.



105. Flying Devatā. Kailāsanātha Temple. *Elura*. Second half of 8th century.



106. Sporting Yakṣa, and bird; lowermost part of panel on wall of South door of Maṇḍapa. Rājīva Locana Temple. *Rajim, Madhya Pradesh.* About 7th–8th century.



107. Caturmukha Mahādeva Temple. *Nāchnā-Kuthāra, Vindhya Pradesh.* 8th century.



108. Caturmukha Liṅga. Caturmukha Mahādeva Temple. *Nāchnā-Kuthāra*. 8th century.



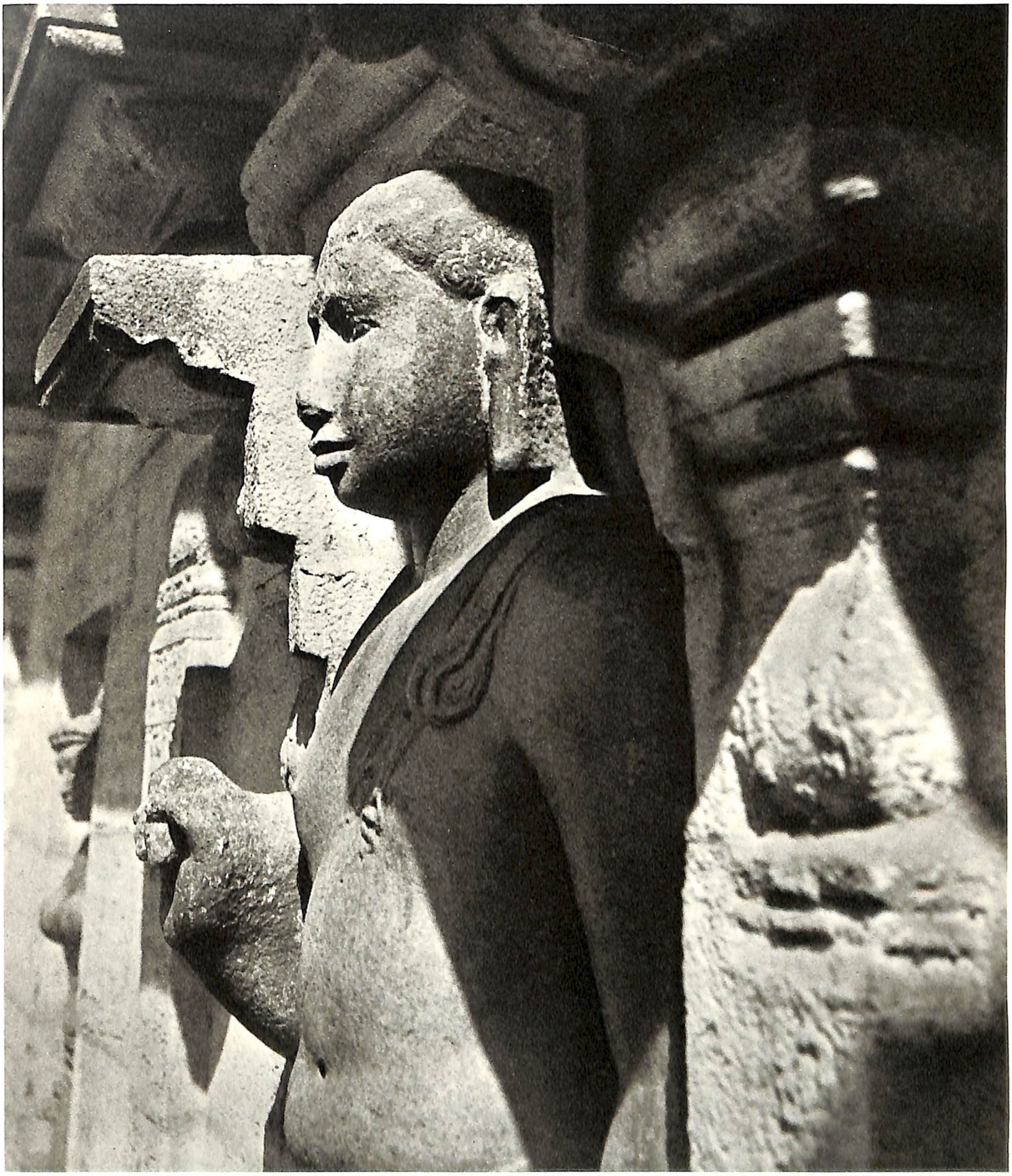
109. Mañjuśrī Siddhaikavīra. Bronze, eyes inlaid with silver.
Nālandā (Bihar); now Indian Museum, Calcutta. Late 7th century.



110. Kṛiṣṇa dancing on Serpent Kāliya. Bronze.
South India; now collection N.Y. Shastri, Gwalior. Early 10th century.



111. Portrait statue of a young Saint (?). Nāgeśvarasvāmī Temple. *Kumbhakonam, South India.* About third quarter of 9th century.



112. Portrait statue of a Svāmi. Figure in main niche on South wall. Nāgeśvarasvāmī Temple. *Kumbhakonam.* About third quarter of 9th century.



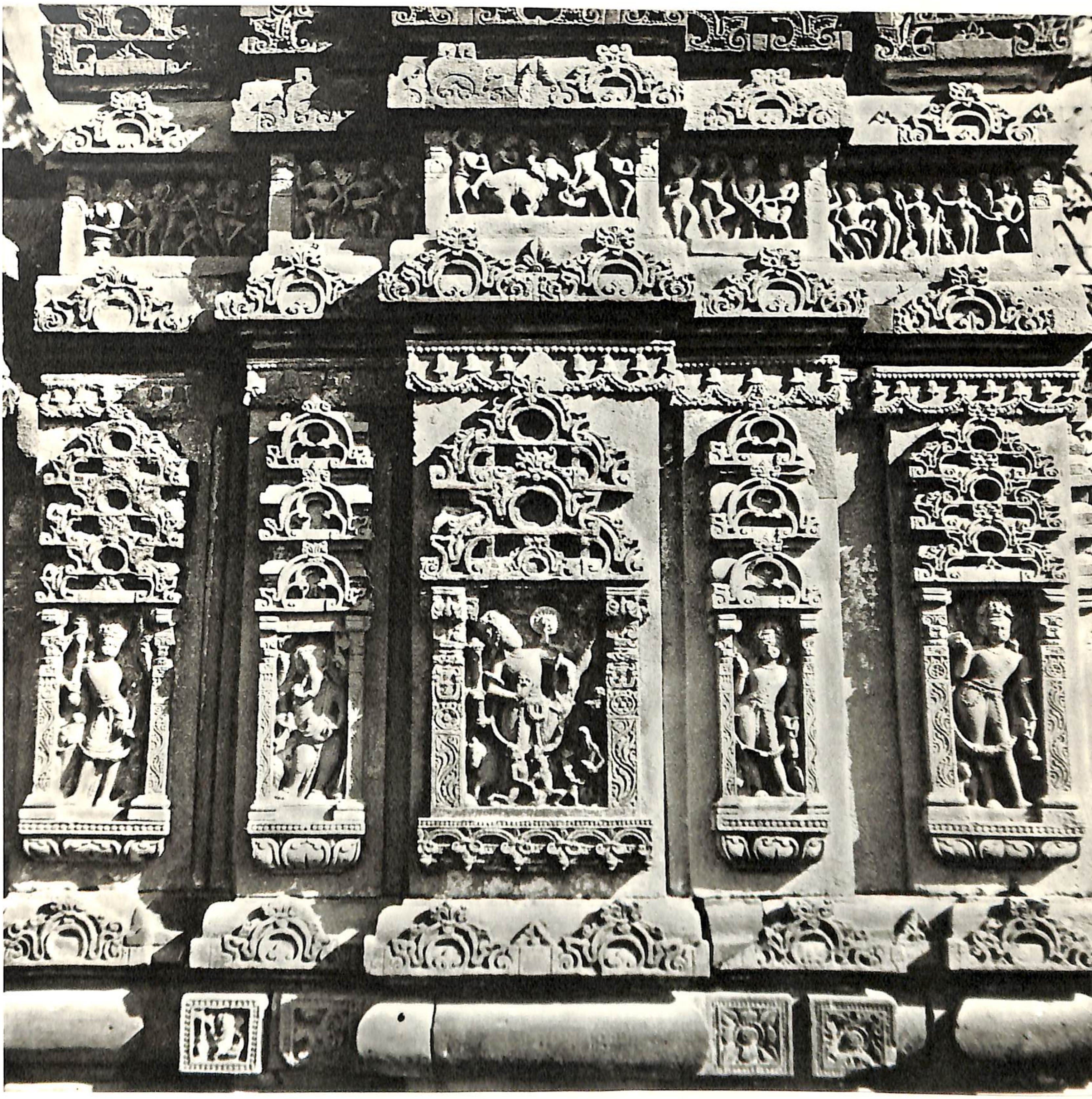
113. Dancing Apsaras. Detail from wall painting, chamber VII, inner ambulatory of Sanctuary. Bṛihadīśvara Temple. *Tanjore, South India.* About 1010.



114. Umā. Bronze. *South India; now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.* Early 12th century.



115. Temple of Sūrya (Prāsāda and part of maṇḍapa). *Osiā, Rājasthān.* About 900.



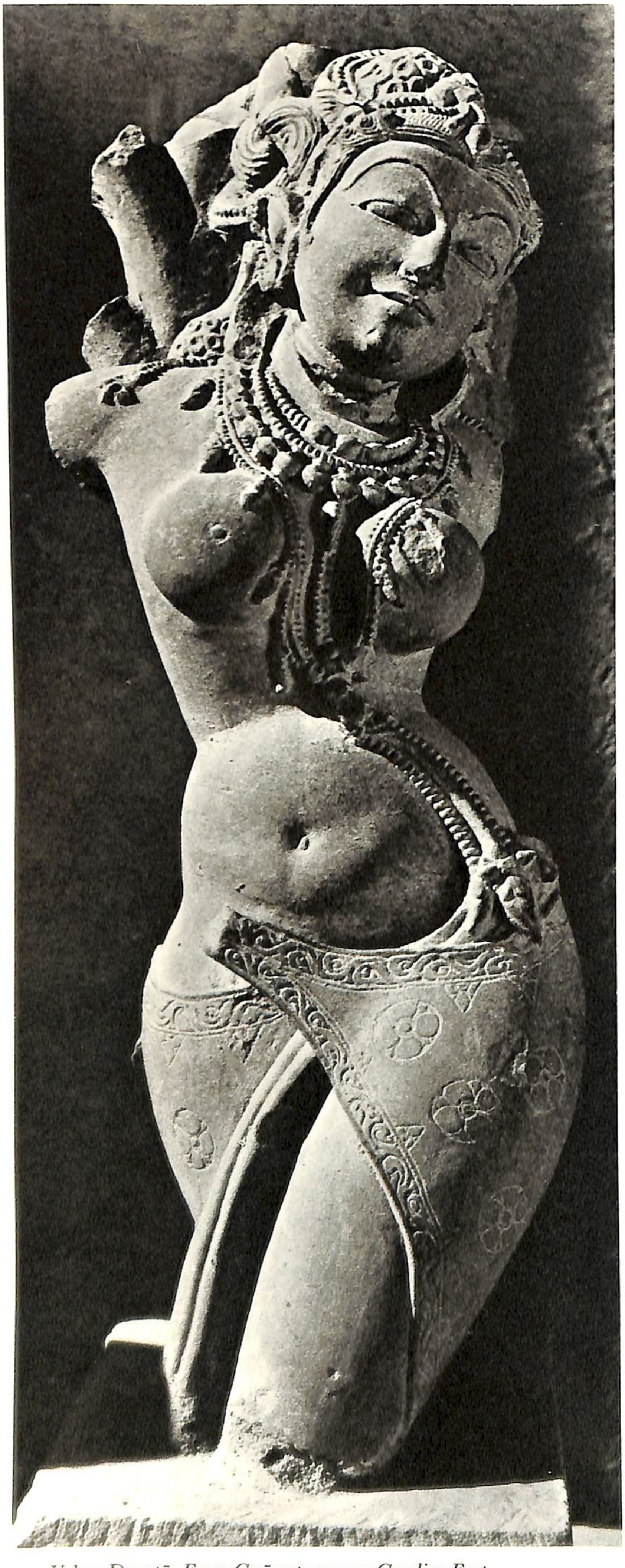
116. Harihara Temple II, part of South wall. *Osiā.* 9th century.



117. Scene of dance and music; from Purāṇa Mahādeo Temple. *Harṣagiri; now Sikar Museum, Rājasthān.* 961–973.



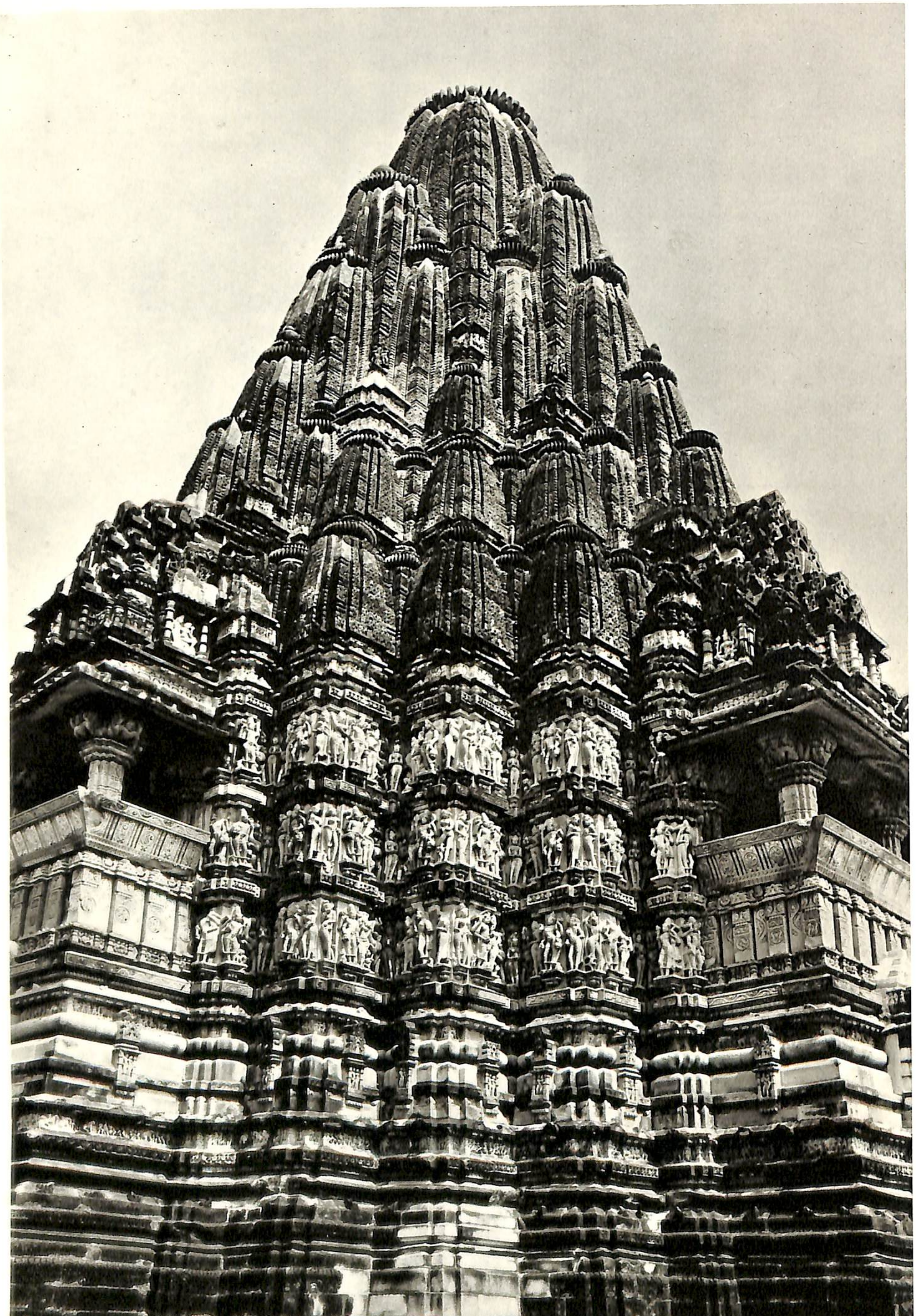
118. Scene of dance and music; from Purāṇa Mahādeo Temple. *Harṣagiri; now Sikar Museum, Rājasthān.* 961–973.



119. Vrksa Devatā. *From Gyāraspur; now Gwalior Fort, Archaeological Museum, Madhya Pradesh.* About 10th century.



120. Cāmuṇḍā. Head of image. *Now Bhilsa Museum, Madhya Pradesh.* About 1000.



121. Kandarīya Temple. Sanctuary from South-East. *Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh.* Early 11th century.



122. Mithuna; and Surasundarīs; Kālī Devī Temple. *Khajuraho*. Early 11th century.



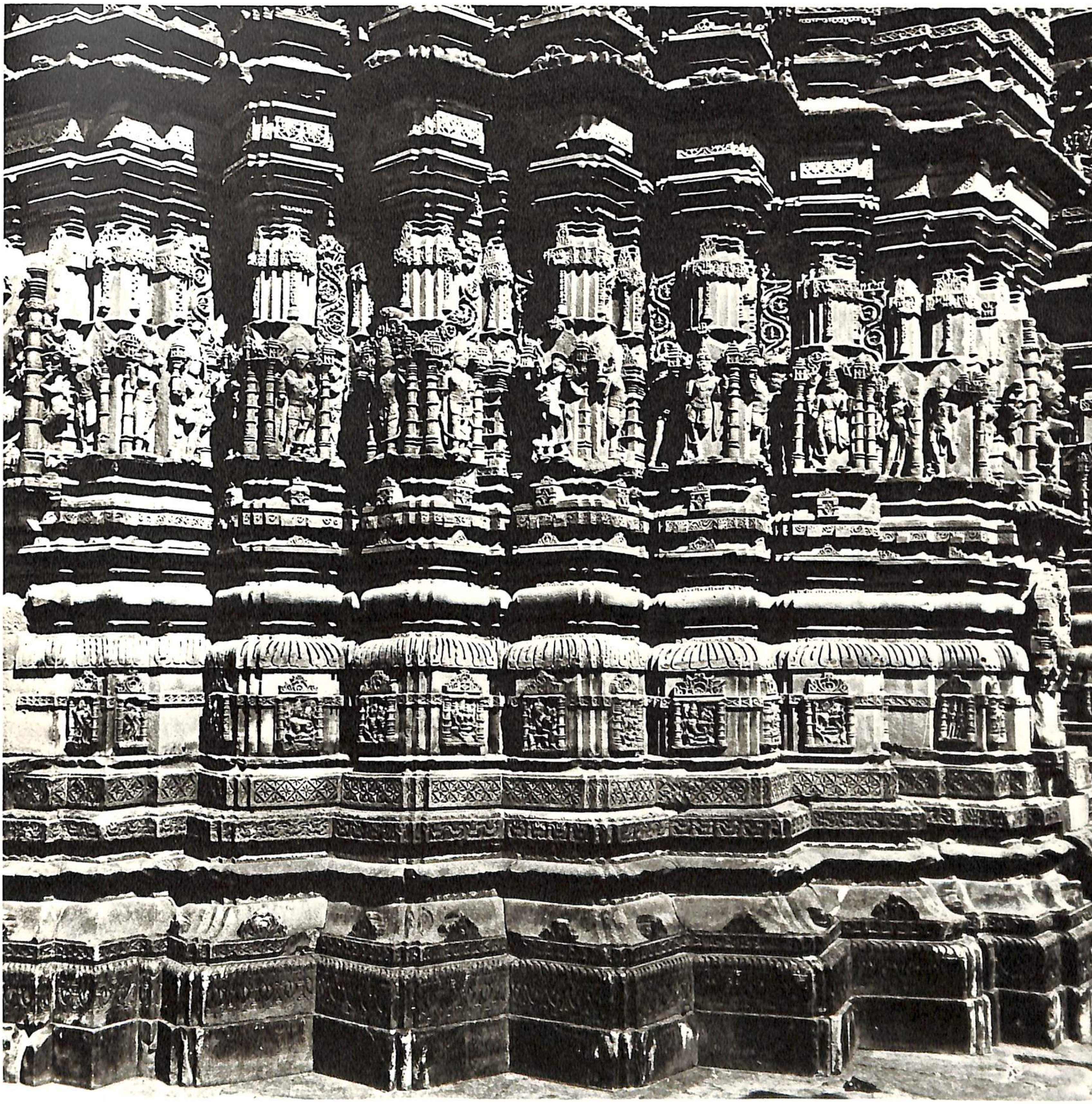
123. Śārdūlas and Surasundarī on wall of innermost sanctuary in Ambulatory of Viśvanātha Temple. *Khajuraho*. 1002.



124. Śiva, Lord of the Dance. Ujjain. *Madhya Pradesh; now Gwalior Fort, Archaeological Museum.* 9th–10th century.



125. Statue of Lion. *Suhaniya; now Gwalior Fort, Archaeological Museum.* 11th century.



126. Nilkaṇṭheśvara Temple; detail of wall. *Udayapur, Madhya Pradesh.* About 1059–1080.



127. Śrī Vībhatsā. Temple of the 64 Yoginīs. *Bheraghat, Madhya Pradesh*. 10th century.



128. Bust of Yoginī. From Temple of the 64 Yoginīs. *Bheraghat; now University Museum, Philadelphia.* 10th century.



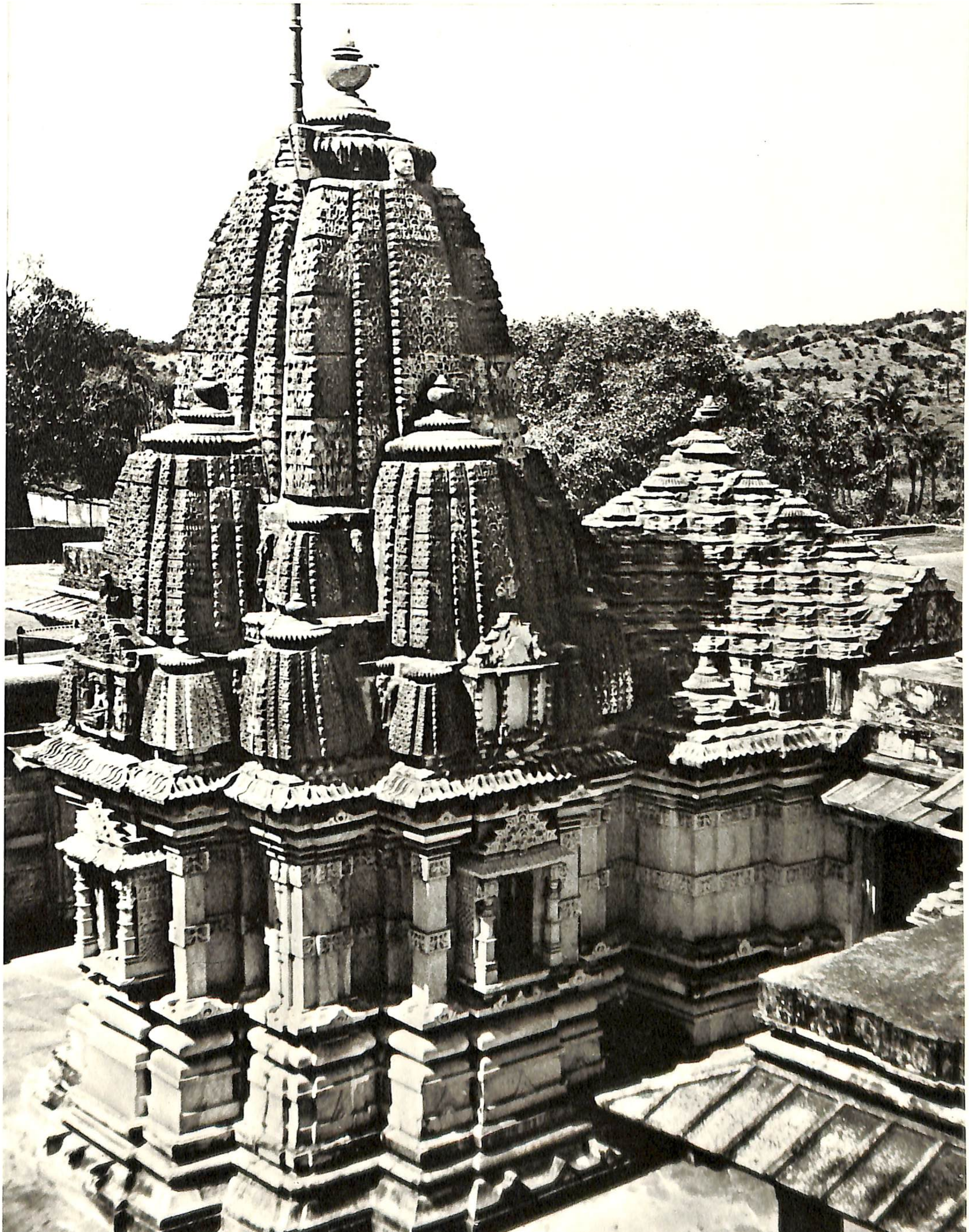
129. Surasundarī. *Tewar, near Bheraghat*. About 11th century.



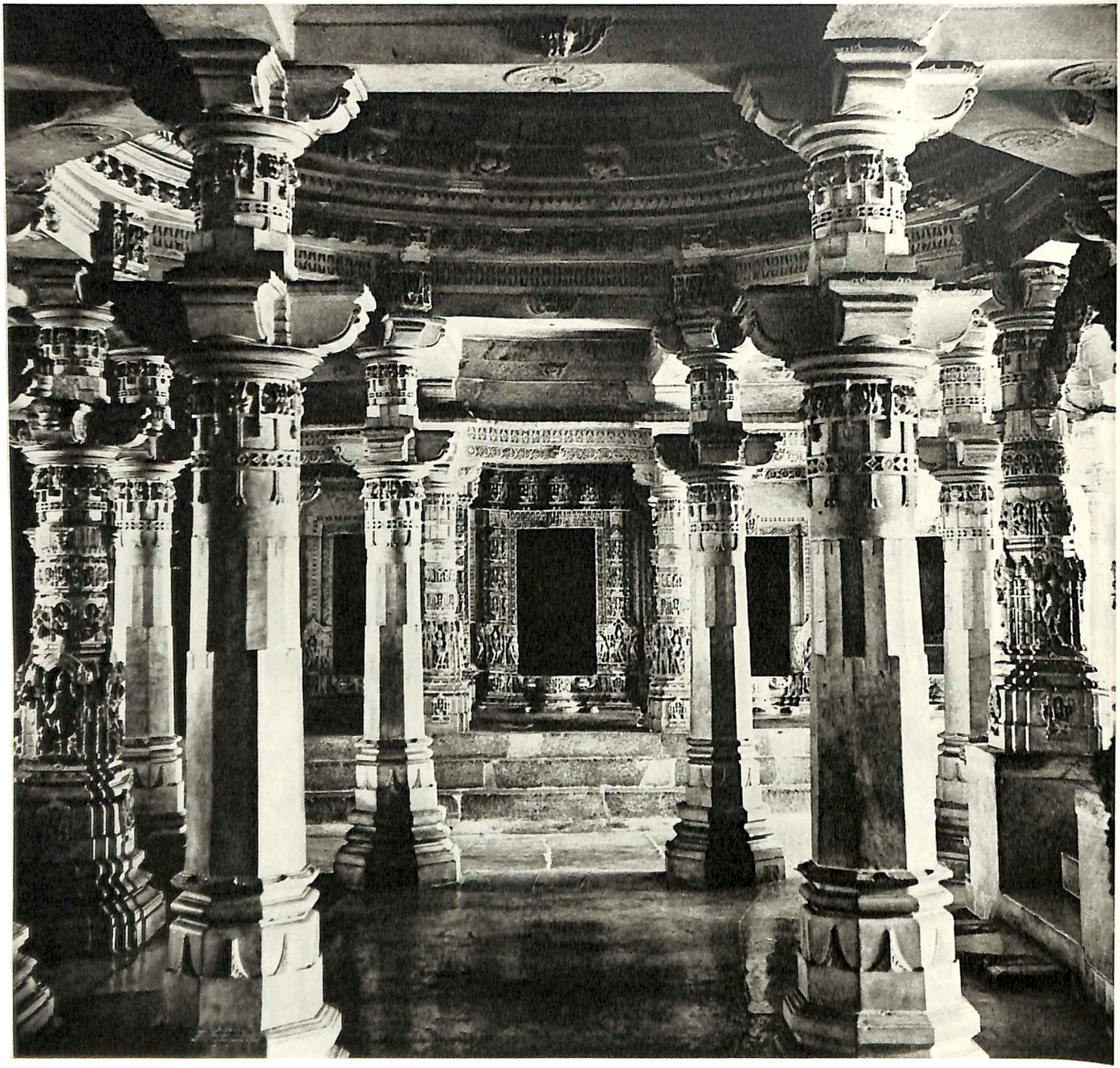
130. Mohinī (?) with a parrot. Part of image. Cakreśvara Temple. *Sopara, near Bombay.* Late 11th century.



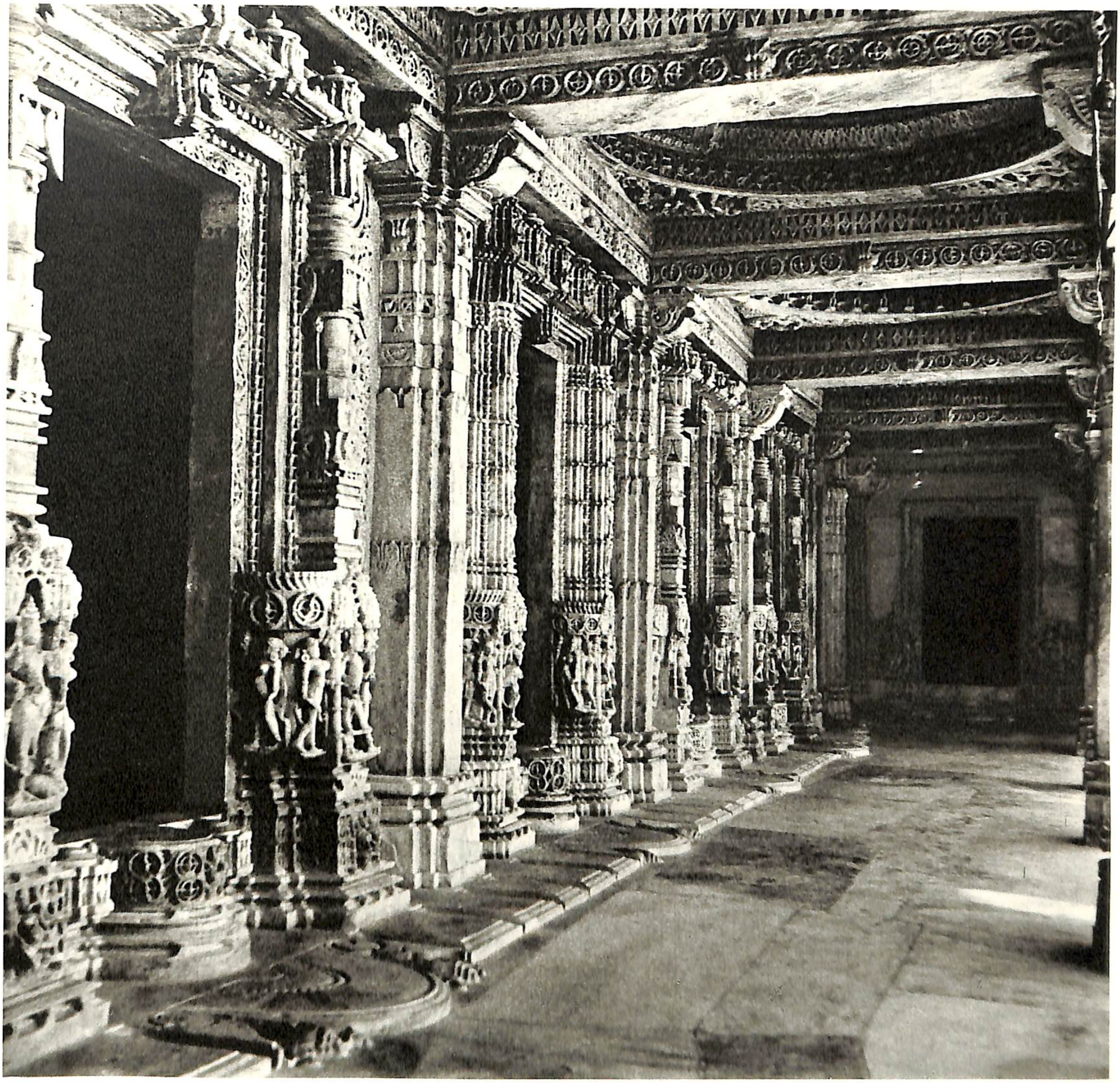
131. Pillars in Sabhā-Maṇḍapa of Sūrya Temple. *Modhera, North Gujarat.* 1026–7.



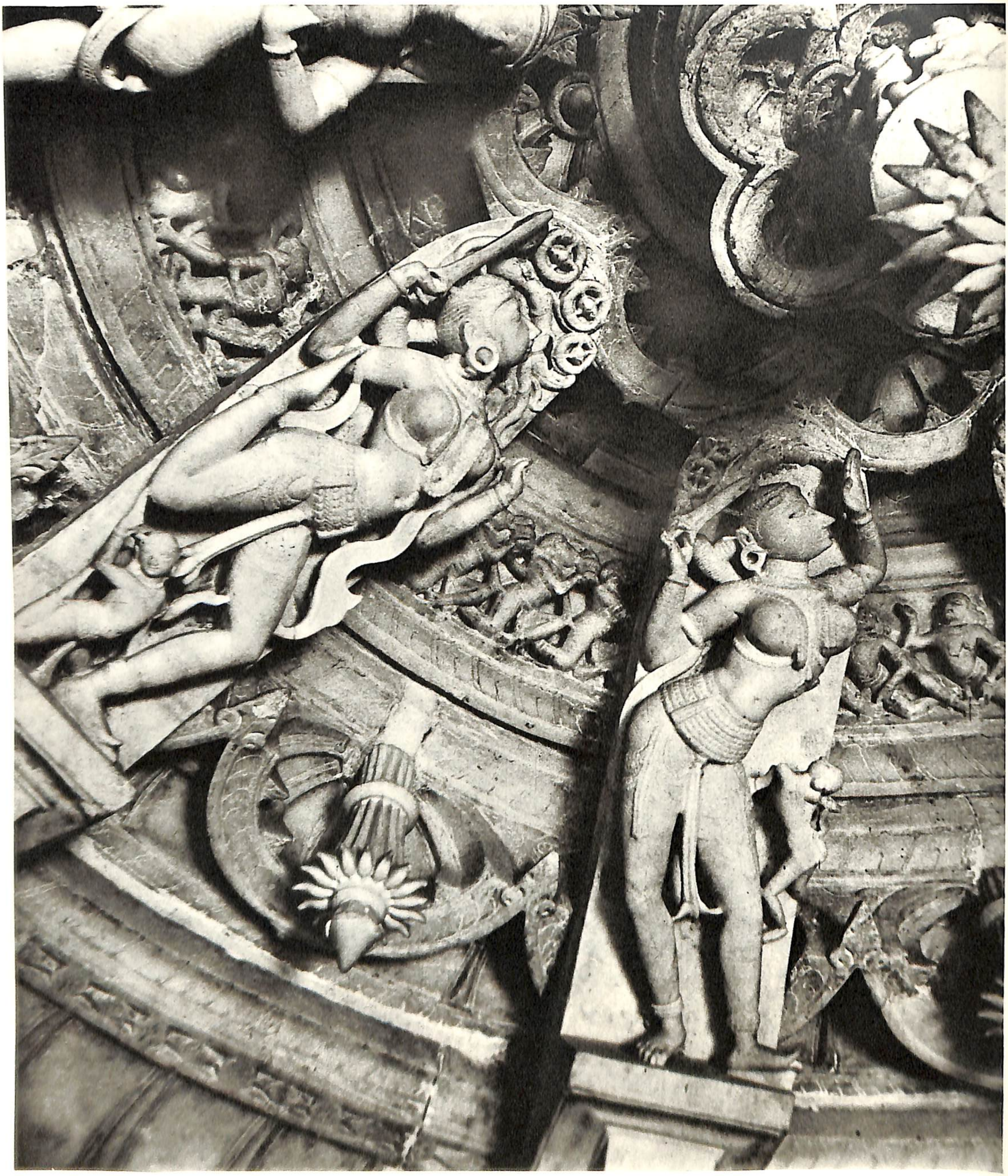
132. Neminātha Temple. *Kumbhariā, South Rājasthān.* 11th century.



133. Interior of Maṇḍapa. Pārśvanātha Temple. *Kumbhariā*. 11th century.



134. Cloister showing entrance to cells of images, South wall of Maṇḍapa. Vimala Vasahī; *Dilwara, Mt. Abu, South Rājasthān.* 12th century



135. Part of small dome in centre of Maṇḍapa showing two out of the eight struts carved with goddesses holding swords. Vimala Vasahī (Temple of Ādinātha). *Dilwara*. 1031.



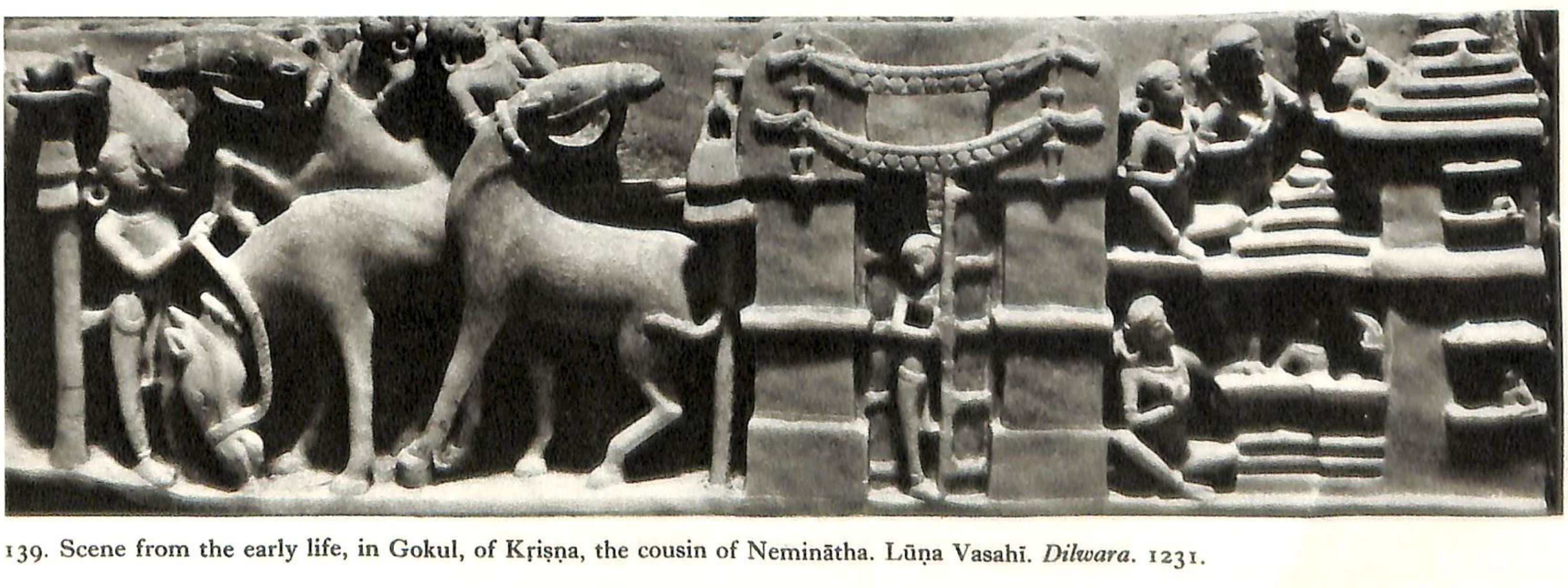
136. The story of Princess Sudarśanā and of the Samalī Vihāra Tīrtha. Neminātha Temple. *Kumbhariā*. 11th century.



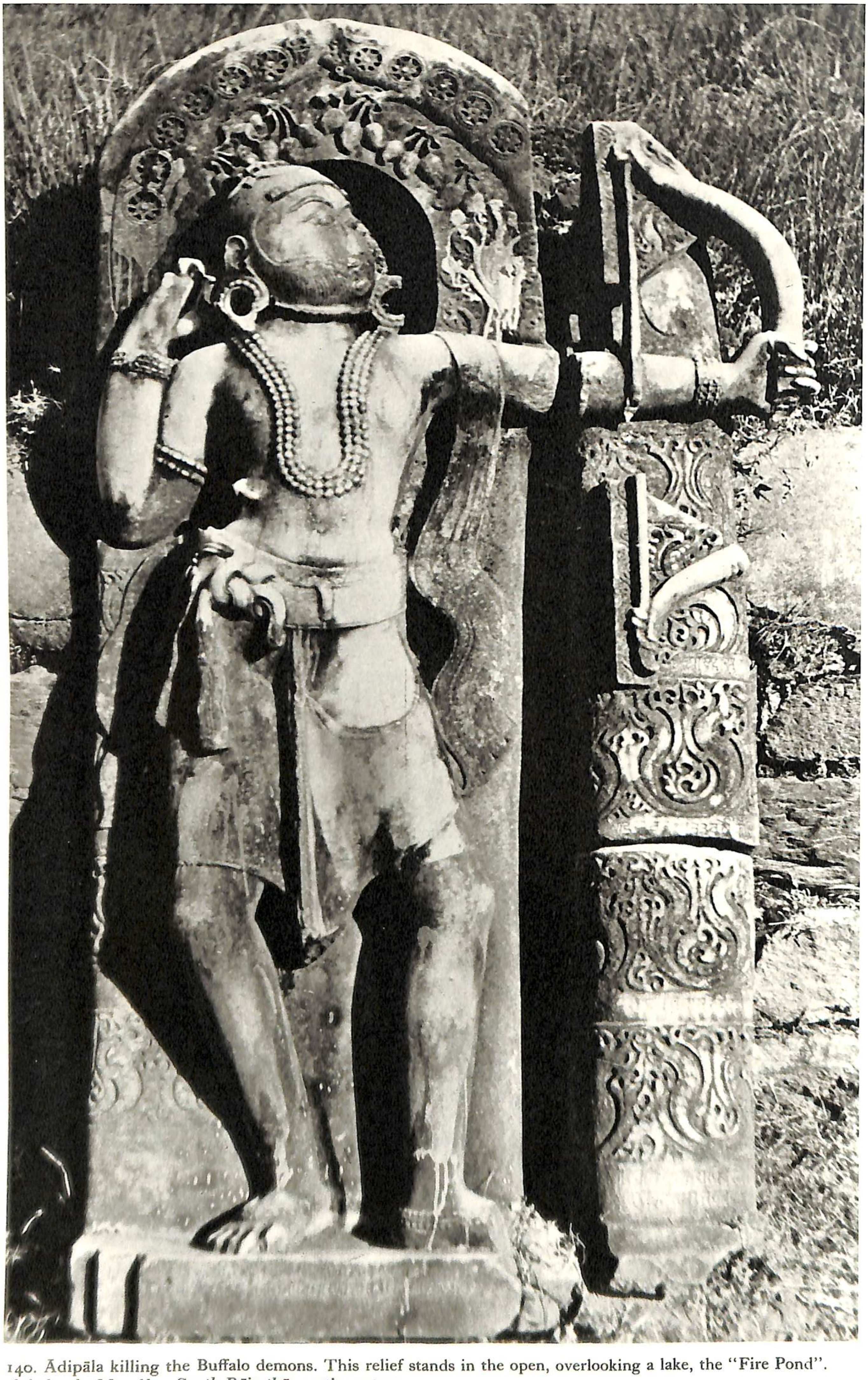
137. Goddess Sarasvatī saluted by the two architects who built the Vimala Vasahī. Roundel in dome of ceiling of Maṇḍapa; Vimala Vasahī. *Dilwara.* 12th century



138. Scene from the marriage party of Ariṣṭanemi, detail of ceiling panel. Lūṇa Vasahī (Temple of Neminātha). *Dilwara*. 1231.



139. Scene from the early life, in Gokul, of Kṛiṣṇa, the cousin of Neminātha. Lūṇa Vasahī. *Dilwara*. 1231.



140. Ādipāla killing the Buffalo demons. This relief stands in the open, overlooking a lake, the "Fire Pond". *Achalgarh, Mt. Abu, South Rājasthān.* 13th century.



141. Sādhu. *Alampur; now Alampur Museum, South Deccan.* About 12th century.



142. Mukhaliṅga. *Nemad; now Nagpur Museum, Madhya Pradesh.* About 11th century.



143. Apsaras; fragment. *North Bengal; now private collection, Calcutta.* 12th century.



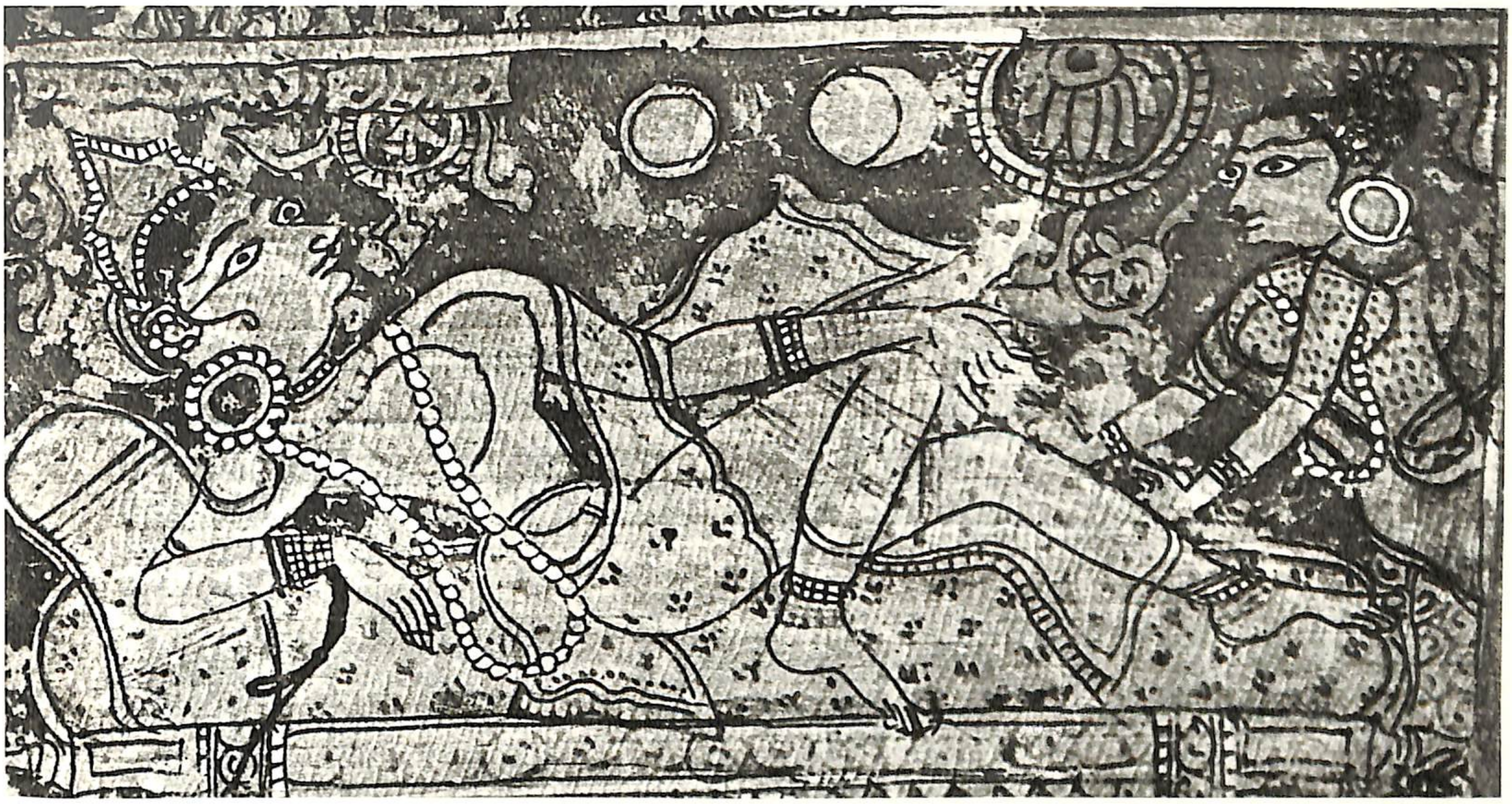
144. Warrior. Fragment of Gond Memorial sculpture; *now Raipur Museum, Madhya Pradesh.* About 12th century or later.



145. Celestial Musician. Sūrya Temple. *Konarka, Orissa.* About 1238–64.



146. The Kiss. Part of Mithuna image. Sūrya Temple. *Konarka*. Mid-13th century.



147. Dreams of Devānandā. Painting on palm leaf. Gold on red ground. *Gujarat, now Baroda Museum*. Late 14th century.



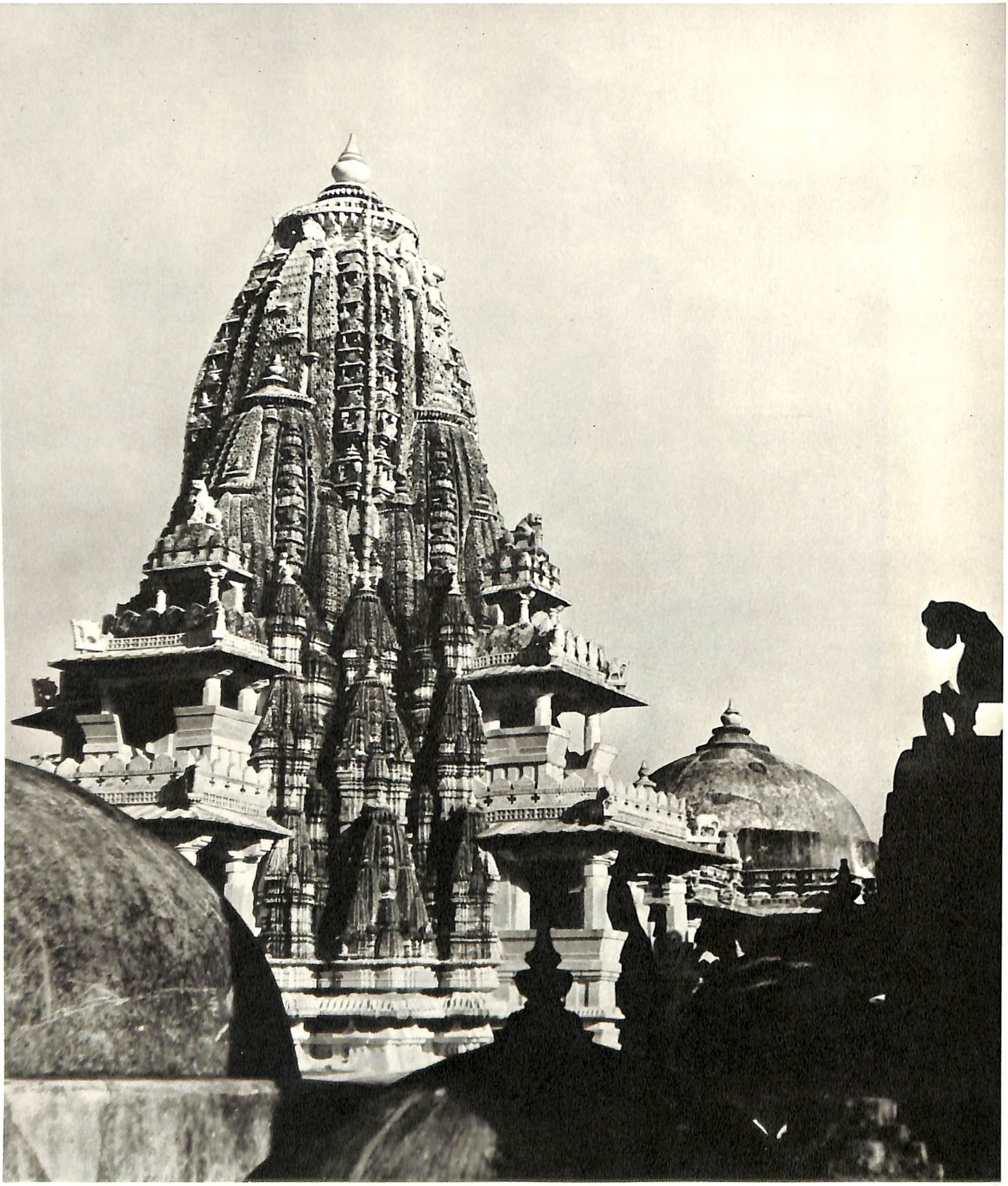
148. Nativity of Mahāvīra, illumination of a palm leaf manuscript of Kalpasūtra. *Muktivijayaji Library, Ahmedabad*. 1370.



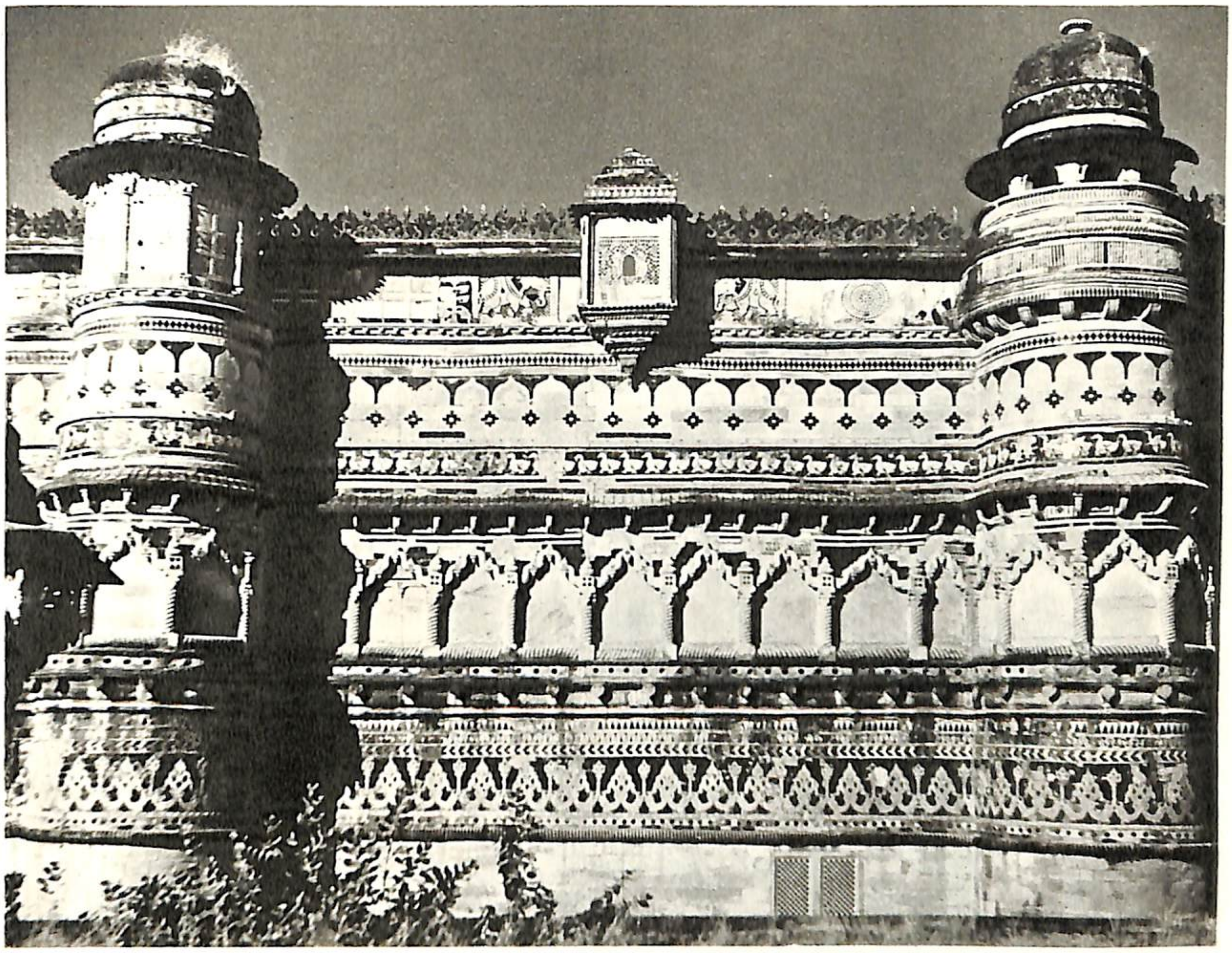
149. Nāṭakī. Image on buttress of wall. Neminātha Temple. *Rāṇakpur, South Rājasthān*. Mid-15th century.



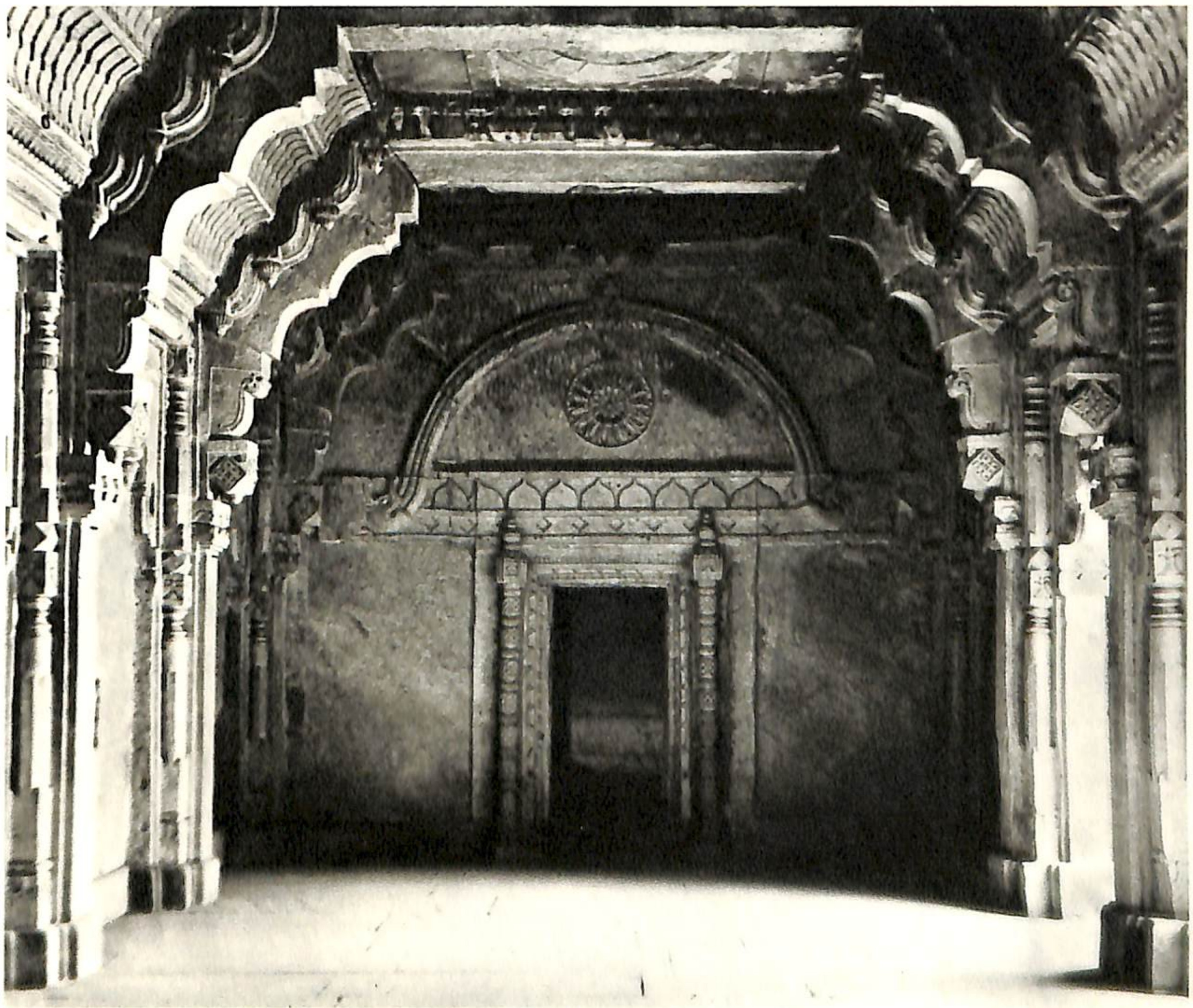
150. Karaikkal Ammai playing Cymbals. Bronze. *Tanjore, South India; now William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.* About 15th–17th century.



151. Central Śikhara of Chaumukh Temple. *Rāṇakpur*. 1439.



152. Mān Singh's Palace. Part of wall, South face. *Gwalior Fort, Madhya Pradesh.* About 1500.



153. The Library, Mān Singh's Palace. *Gwalior Fort.* About 1500.



154. Dīpa Lakṣmī. Brass.
Patan-Anhilwada, North Gujarat; now Baroda Museum.
Late 17th century.



155. Veṇu-gopāla. Brass. *Bengal; now William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.* About 17th century.



156. Tree of Life and Knowledge. Bronze. *South India; now William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City*. 17th century.

NOTES ON THE PLATES

NOTES ON THE PLATES

1. *Statuette of a dancing God.* Harappa, Punjab; now National Museum of India, New Delhi. About 2400–2000 B.C. Grey, polished limestone. Height: $3\frac{7}{8}$ in.

The head (or heads), arms and genital organs of the dancing figure were carved separately and socketed into the drilled holes of the torso. The legs are broken. A hole is drilled in the left thigh. The breast nipples were cut separately and are fixed with cement. The large navel is cup-shaped.
The association of this statuette and the one illustrated in Fig. 4 with the Harappa culture has not been definitely established on archaeological grounds. The style of the stone figurine (Fig. 4) corresponds to that of certain terracotta figures and to representations on some of the seals from Mohenjo-daro (see Fig. 1a, between tree and tiger).

2. *Circular lid of a burial urn.* From Cemetery H., Harappa, Punjab; now National Museum of India, New Delhi. Middle of second millennium B.C. Diameter: $7\frac{5}{16}$ in.

Painted pottery, black on red ground. Horned deer and three rosettes surrounded by four concentric circles show use of animal and number symbolism.

3. *Copper sheet figure in the shape of a man.* From Bisauli, Uttar Pradesh; now Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Hindu University, Banaras. About 1000 B.C. or earlier. Height: 17 in.

Although nothing is known about the people or purpose which figures of this type—found in the Gangetic valley—served, attention may be drawn to the effigy of the 'golden man' (Hiraṇyapuruṣa) embedded in the Vedic sacrificial altar (Taittirīya Saṇhitā V.2.7.1).

4. *Bull capital.* Sandstone, polished. Rampurva, Bihar; now National Museum of India, New Delhi. Third century B.C. Height: 6 ft. 6 in.

The monolithic capital surmounted a monolithic, tapering shaft (Height: 34 ft.) of a *Dharmastambha* or Pillar of Righteousness and Cosmic Law and Order.
The capital has three parts: (1) a bell-shaped lotus flower with petals turned downward and separated by a cable moulding from (2) a circular plinth with 'life tree' and floral symbols in relief supporting (3) the figure of a humped bull which combines the qualities of bilateral relief and sculpture in the round.

5. *Statue of a Yakṣa.* Sandstone, polished. From Patna, Bihar; now National Museum of India, New Delhi. Third century B.C. Height: 5 ft. 10 in.

Yakṣas are Lords of Life and, particularly, guardians of the vegetative source of life.
The voluminous upper part of the statue bulges over the flat lower part. The modelling of the bare body is remotely reminiscent of that of the Harappa torso (Fig. 4).
Head and hands are missing. The Yakṣa held a fly-whisk against his right shoulder. This marks him as an attendant on a higher presence.

6. *Figurine of a Mother Goddess.* Grey terracotta. From Mathurā, U.P.; now Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. About third century B.C. Height: ca. 10 in.

The 'archaic' facial type is consistent with the basic and symbolic shapes of the figurine, moulded, modelled, and appliqué.

7. *Figurine of a richly dressed young woman.* Buff terracotta. Tamluk (ancient Tāmralipta), Bengal; now Private Collection, Calcutta. Third to second century B.C. Height: 12 in.

The modelling of face and breasts is enhanced by and contrasts with the appliqué plaques and ornaments. The headgear is only partly preserved. A hooped skirt, belt and scarf complete the costume. The legs are broken.

8. *Yakṣa Maṇibhadra.* Sandstone. Traces of polish. From Parkham near Mathurā; now Mathurā Museum, U.P. About 200 B.C. Height: 8 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Arms broken, face damaged. The statue is the work of Gomitaka, a pupil of Kuṇika. The names of master Kuṇika and of Nāka, another of his pupils, are inscribed on a statue in worship near Mathurā. Nāka is also mentioned in an inscription in Bhita.
Colossal images of Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, their female counterparts, are known from Eastern India, from Bihar (Plate 5) and Orissa; from Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Bhārat, where a Yakṣa image and part of a Yakṣinī image of a high artistic quality were found near Bhilsa.

9. *Turbaned head of male figure.* Sandstone, polished. Sarnath, U.P.; now National Museum of India, New Delhi. Early second century B.C. Height: $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.

10. *Ambulatory of the Great Stūpa, and South Gate;* Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh. Middle of second century B.C. Gate about first century B.C. Width of ambulatory at foot of staircase: 12 ft. 9 in. Height of railing: 10 ft. 7 in. Height of Gate: 34 ft.

The Great Stūpa (Height: 54 ft., see Fig. 5), whose socle is shown on the right, is a solid monument built of brick and overmantled with sandstone masonry. The dome shape of the Stūpa was covered with a thick layer of concrete, which was presumably finished by a coating of white plaster.
The dome shape emerges from an altar-like plinth. The steps lead up to its berm. It is surrounded by a railing. A third railing on top of the dome encloses the square where the central pillar of the stūpa emerges. The pillar or shaft is crowned by a tier of umbrellas.
The gates are outside the four entrances of the railing. They were set up in the first century B.C. and were originally polished and reddened with a translucent dye[1].

11. *Railing pillars of the 'Stūpa of the Saints'* (part view of north entry). Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh; second half of second century B.C.

The Stūpa enshrines the relics of ten church dignitaries of the time of Aśoka (third century B.C.). Most of the reliefs of the railing posts are symbolic configurations. The crossbars are plain, their convex surfaces fit into the lentil-shaped mortice holes of the posts. The corner post on the left shows the First Sermon of the Buddha or the First Turning of the Wheel of the Law, by a Dharmastambha (see note on Plate 4). The symmetrical composition of the panel, stressing the vertical axis, fills the lower half with two sets of leaves and lotuses. Each branches forth from a central point. The upper from a lotus flower, shows lions jumping forth, similar in position to the animals of Fig. 1e. The upper half of the panel has a railing at the bottom; a couple of worshippers flank the pillar crowned by lions and surmounted by the

[1]The material of most of the monuments illustrated, if not otherwise stated, is sandstone.

wheel of 16 spokes. Garlands are wreathed around the wheel and suspended from lotuses which sprout from the capital.
The post on the right connects the central roundel and half-medallions on top and bottom by three rectangular panels filled with lotus-rosettes and lotus wave. A female figure occupies the upper middle panel. On both these pillars each figure adds to the symbol value of its shape those of position and number.
The two posts belong to a gate projection of which there are four. On the left are seen part of the circular railing and the stūpa which is encircled by it.

12. *Centaur* (Kinnara or Kiṃpuruṣa) *and female rider*. Roundel on railing of berm; facing South Gate. Great Stūpa, Sanchi. Middle second century B.C. Width: about 12 in.

13. *Griffin*, half-roundel on the upper portion of a railing post; Stūpa of the Saints, Sanchi. Second half of the second century B.C. Width: about 12 in.

The eagle-winged, parrot-beaked lion shape of the griffin is one of the figures (see also Plates 12, 14, 19) of the Adṛiṣṭa or 'Unseen'. Its idiom is here employed in a Buddhist context. The Griffin combines meaning and shape of the solar Bird and the solar Lion. The consistency of the form of this relief should be viewed together with that of the statue of a 'lion' (Plate 125). The two sculptures embody cognate concepts, the one with fluency, the other with authority.

14. *Yakṣī Aśvamukhī* ('Horse-faced') *carrying on her left hip the figure of a slim youth.* Roundel on railing post of Stūpa of the Saints, Sanchi. Second half of second century B.C.

Walking with her burden in a forest indicated by four trees with bud-shaped—and decorated—tops, the Yakṣī holds in her right hand a bunch of four mangoes, while the young Bodhisattva has a branch of three fruits (?) in his left.

15. *Lotus wave with Jātaka scene, ornaments, etc.* Part of coping stone, railing of Stūpa of Barhut, Madhya Pradesh; now Allahabad Municipal Museum. Second half of second century B.C. Height of coping stone: 22½ in.

The inscription refers to: 'Gaja-jātaka-sasa-jātaka' and belongs to the narrative scene in the wave of the lotus rhizome. In a court enclosed by three houses, two with vaulted roofs and the one in front with a pent roof, two male figures argue about two small animals between them. The scene in the court is shown in functional perspective, in bird's eye view and front view combined, and from several more angles. The houses are, moreover, adjusted to the wave. The entire scene is related to the surface by the large circular ornament between the head of one of the men and the three pinnacles of the roof on the right.
On either side of this scene, which most probably illustrates a version of the Gaja Kumbha Jātaka, shawls, necklaces, armlets, etc. spring from branches, which issue from nodules of the lotus wave. In the scene on the right a domed hermit's hut and tree are part of a missing Jātaka scene. (See note on Plate 18, second paragraph.)
The lotus rhizome with its contents fills the middle part of the relief frieze. Above it is a zigzag pattern formed of stepped pyramids or 'terrace-temples' and blue lotus flowers; below, an ornament of beaded chains with bells suspended (this portion, but for two bells, is missing).
The two framing bands are purely symbolic configurations; the middle band adds the actuality of stories as exemplifications of the meaning of the Kalpalatā, the wish-fulfilling creeper (*i.e.*, the mind. It gets what it asks).

16. *Scene of worship in the temple of the Bodhi tree.* Detail of panel on a corner pillar of the railing of the Stūpa of Barḥut; now Indian Museum, Calcutta. Second half of second century B.C. Width: 22½ in.

The altar in the middle is supported by four pillar-shaped legs. Flower offerings are strewn over the plate of the altar. This surface, following functional perspective, is shown unforeshortened above the legs of the throne. Behind the altar in the centre is the stem of the Bodhi tree, the tree of Awakening. It is flanked by two Kāya ('body') symbols surmounting the altar. The tree denotes the presence of the Buddha, the Awakened, and the two Kāya symbols, which show the Sun and Moon in conjunction, denote his Law (*dharma*) and community (*saṅgha*) respectively.
Pillars support the upper storey of the temple. The railings, too, belong to the architecture and divide the relief panels on the post. In front of the lower railing is a free-standing elephant pillar (see note on Plate 4; the elephant here signifies Bodhi, spiritual Awakening). Shuffled between this pillar and those at the back, the scene of worship shows two successive phases of the rite of circumambulation.

17. *A Buddhist Parable.* Fragment of a railing post from the Stūpa of Barhut; now Allahabad Municipal Museum. Second half of second century B.C. Width: ca. 22 in.

A pyramid of figures links the central roundel of the post with the curve of the half-roundel above, whence a single figure is suspended, to whose legs two figures hold on, thence others in geometrical progression. They are flanked by figures of a Yakṣa and Yakṣī on lotus flowers, carved on the chamfered parts of the post.

18. *Mṛiga Jātaka*; roundel of railing post, Stūpa of Barhut; now Indian Museum, Calcutta. Second half of second century B.C. Diameter: 19¼ in.

Rhythmically disposed in this roundel are two main episodes and three scenes which show, below in the water, the golden stag—the Buddha-to-be—rescuing a wastrel and would-be suicide; above, once more, the golden stag is seen receiving homage from the Rāja of Banaras who had come to shoot it and who is seen on the right drawing his bow—for the ungrateful wastrel, against a reward offered, had informed the King of Banaras of the whereabouts of the stag which the queen had seen in a dream—but gives up his intention when the miraculous stag speaks to him with a voice sweet as honey.
Jātakas are ancient stories which were used to illustrate a Buddhist Truth. Their protagonist is shown to have been a previous incarnation of the Buddha.

19. *Makara.* End of beam of gateway (*toraṇa*) of Stūpa of Barhut; now Indian Museum, Calcutta. About 100 B.C. Height: ca. 17 in.

This fragment shows the Makara, the main monster of the deep, in the shape of an alligator. The curled snout holds a serpent which resembles feelers or lightning. The spiral of the scaly tail fills the end of the volute of the beam. It can be read in either sense, of evolution or involution. The wide-open jaws with lashing tongue, similarly, show a sanctuary come out of the dragon's mouth or as going to be swallowed by it. A corresponding *makara*, facing in the opposite direction, filled the other end of the beam.

20. *Genii riding on addorsed goats.* Panel forming a 'false capital'. South end, lowest beam, East Gate, inner side. Great Stūpa, Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh. First century B.C.

The diademed couple in their rustic noblesse wear particularly heavy earrings. The countenance of the Indian face is

shown in the burgeoning form of Sanchi sculpture. The goat riders are related to the group of symbols of which Plates 12–14 are representative.

21. *Genie and his fairy in rocky solitude;* inset between two large jugate peacocks. East gate, lowest beam, north end, adjacent to Plate 24. Great Stūpa, Sanchi. First century B.C.

The two peacocks (*mayūra*), birds of immortality, possibly refer to Emperor Aśoka, of the Maurya dynasty, whose visit to a stūpa containing relics of the Buddha is depicted on the *toraṇa* beam of which the peacocks fill the end. Their heraldic shapes in low relief set off the constructed space of the idyll.

22–23. *Viśvantara Jātaka.* Middle section of lowest beam of North Gate, inner side. Great Stūpa, Sanchi. First century B.C.[1]

The Buddha, when incarnated as Prince Viśvantara, was an embodiment of unconditioned charity. Having given away his princely belongings he was exiled by his father, the king. The end of the *toraṇa* shows the prince, his wife and two children in exile in the forest. The story continues in the middle section (Plates 22–23). It is divided from the end of the beam by a 'false capital' of jugate horses (cf. Plate 20).

On the right is the forest hermitage. Viśvantara and his wife, Madrī, clad as forest dwellers, tend the fire in front of their leaf-domed hut. In this peaceable jungle the children, the animals, the trees are friends. In the next scene the prince and Madrī sit in deliberation before their hut. A hunter with his bow tries to delay a wicked Brahman; and Madrī, who carries a large basket of mangoes on her head, is delayed on her way home by three lions. Below her figure the wicked Brahman is being handed by the prince-hermit his two children, for whom he had asked as a gift.

Left half of beam:

The Brahman drives away the children. The next act of charity is seen immediately on the left, where the hermit-prince gives away his wife to another wicked Brahman who had asked for her. Here the trials end, for this Brahman is God Indra in disguise. Crowned, and wielding his thunderbolt, he is carved immediately above his figure as wicked Brahman. Next to Indra, on the right, the reunited couple embrace. The remaining portion of the relief has to be read from the left. In the lower row, the king on horse-back and his retinue have come to meet the reunited exiles; their children, who in the meanwhile had been brought back to the palace, are now proceeding on elephant-back in the direction of Indra and their parents. Above the children on elephant-back and next to Indra, the princely couple, fully groomed, and the king on horse-back, facing now in the opposite direction and preceded by the children on their elephant, ride towards the regained kingdom.

24. *Tree and woman.* (Yakṣī or Vṛkṣa Devatā, i.e. 'Tree Goddess'). Bracket of end of lowest beam of East Gate, outer face. Great Stūpa, Sanchi. About first century B.C.

25. *Yakṣī* from Sanchi. Fragment; now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. First century B.C. Height: 2 ft. 4 in.

The figure wears a diaphanous *dhotī*, whose folds are seen on the right proper. The garment is clasped by a band (*kaṭibandha*) and a girdle of goldsmith's work (*mekhalā*) of five strings. A long chain with a pendant falls between the breasts.

[1]Reproduced in two photographs which are partly overlapping.

26. *Dampatī couple* (*donors?*); in panel on façade of rock-cut Buddhist temple (Caitya hall). Trap. Karle, Bombay State. First century A.D.

27. *Dancing Couple* (cf. Plate 26); on façade of rock-cut Buddhist temple, Karle, Bombay State, First century A.D.

Plates 28–35 illustrate phases in the evolution of the relief style of the Amarāvatī school of sculpture.

28. *Scenes from the War over the relics of the Buddha.* Fragment, detail, whitish limestone. Amarāvatī, South-East Deccan (Āndhra Pradesh); now Government Museum, Madras. About second century B.C.

29. *The Bath of the Bodhisattva.* Part of enclosing wall of a stūpa; Amarāvatī school, probably from Ghaṇṭaśāla; now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. White limestone. Early second century A.D.

Immediately before the Great Enlightenment the Bodhisattva bathed in the river Nairañjanā. The great Nāga who lived in the river rose to the surface, worshipped the Bodhisattva and foretold his coming Enlightenment.

The footprints, symbol of the Bodhisattva, are on the left on the bank of the river. The Great Nāga is seen emerging, with his two wives, from the river, marked with the outlines of aquatic animals, at the bottom of the relief. While these three Nāgas or Serpents salute the Buddha, four river goddesses carrying water jugs on their heads fly through the ocean of the air, above. At the bottom on the left, a man bends towards the footprints. Next to him is a vase, whence a pillar (?) emerges supported on an animal (horse?).

The Nāga has the shape of man and a five-headed serpent crown; the Nāginīs are each surmounted by a serpent.

30. *Presentation of gifts to a king.* (Bandhuma?) Roundel of crossbar of railing of Stūpa. White limestone. Amarāvatī, South-East Deccan; now Government Museum, Madras. About A.D. 200, about two or three decades later than Plate 29. Diameter: about 2 ft. 7 in.

31. *Scene of homage under lotus with lotus border.* Fragment. White limestone. Amarāvatī, South-East Deccan; now Government Museum, Madras. Middle of second century A.D.

32. *Scene of valour;* on part of railing pillar, Amarāvatī, South-East Deccan; now British Museum, London. Middle of second century A.D. Width: about 1 ft. 9 in.

The scene has not been identified. Above, on the right, in a room in a fort a man and a woman greet, or take leave from, an enthroned figure. Below, on the left, the same couple is seen riding on an elephant, whose front part emerges between high walls of fortification, towards a group of men and horses where two combatants or contestants, on the extreme right, are engaged in forceful action. Their movements set the theme of the linear composition of the relief. In front of them a third figure is shown prostrating himself on the ground. He faces towards the couple on the elephant who are accompanied by a rider and an archer. On top, on the extreme left, a celestial gushes in mid-air towards the couple on horse-back. Below the chamber in the fort and above the main scene, a line of keenly watching heads emerges from a bow-shaped masonry wall.

33. *Mūga Pakkha Jātaka.* Amarāvatī; now British Museum, London. Middle or second half of second century A.D. Width: about 2 ft. 8 in.

In one of his previous incarnations the Buddha was born as prince Temiya. From his birth the prince had renounced the world. His distressed parents surrounded him with all the luxuries and pleasures of life, but the prince was unmoved. Finally, after many a sleepless night the king decided to do away with his unworldly son, who was not fit to be a prince. The prince, who was at peace with himself, unfolded his true power when he was to be killed. He became an ascetic, and converted his father and his subjects to his mode of life.
The relief is brimful with beautiful women. Their figures overflow the lotus border of the roundel. Their charms, dance and music have no effect on the prince. Detached in mind he is seen serenely seated on a couch to the left of his stern father.
Divided from the main scene by a curtain and wall on the left the prince is shown facing his distressed mother in the last night which he spent in the palace.

34. *The Great Departure*. Amarāvatī; now British Museum, London. About A.D. 200. Height: 16 in.

The three main scenes of the frieze illustrate from right to left: The Buddha-to-be seated at night in the midst of the women of the palace; the Departure of the Bodhisattva; and the final scene of leave-taking (cf. Plate 36). His steed soars noiselessly. Spirits of the air support its hooves while others fly exultantly at the moment of the Renunciation of the Bodhisattva. Consoles in the shape of busts of griffons support the panels of the frieze.

35. *Ghata Jātaka*; on top: lion and griffin frieze. White limestone. Fragment from Stūpa, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, South-East Deccan (Āndhra). Third century A.D.

The clandestine meeting of the lovers, Upasāgara and princess Devagabbhā, takes place between two rectangular architectural openings, the one on the left being that of a gate, the other, the front of an open apartment; it is flanked by trees. Upasāgara, turbaned and wearing a shawl over a padded, long-sleeved coat, and a sword, approaches the apartment. The princess shows great emotion; her attendant leans on an elaborate bamboo chair and a third figure watches with earnest attention. The first figure is all wrapped in clothes, the second is bare-bodied and wears an elegant head-dress and loin cloth. Further subordinate figures are partly damaged. A domed 'one-pillar' building terminates the scene.

36. *The tonsure of Śākyamuni*. Fragment. Trap. From Kanheri, Bombay State; now Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Sixth century A.D. Height: about 1 ft.

The sage of the royal house of the Śākyas, having left the palace on his way to becoming the Buddha, is shown seated beneath a tree. Having cast off all worldly ties he is about to cut his hair. His horse Kanthaka and groom worshipfully take leave of him.

37. *Bowl supported by female figure*. From Fyzabad. School of Mathurā; now Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Hindu University, Banaras. First century A.D. Height: about 4 ft.

The figure carries food and drink, a covered basket in her raised left hand, and a water vessel in her lowered right hand. The capital of the pilaster which forms the back of this bowl-stand is visible on the right. The small sphinx-face above the right shoulder of the figure is part of the jugate sphinxes of the capital.
Bowls on stands carved with representations of 'Dionysiac' rites were set up in Buddhist monasteries and shrines in Mathurā. The basket (cf. 'liknon' or 'kernos') and vase of the figure would show her as participant in rites such as the Eleusinian mysteries.

38. *Bodhisattva or attendant*. Mathurā School; now Mathurā Museum, Uttar Pradesh. Second century A.D. Height: 19 in.

The Bodhisattva holds a fly-whisk in his right hand, raised to the shoulder; the left arm is held akimbo.

39. *Yakṣī*; a balcony above, with figure of man asleep. Railing post from Jaisinghpur; now Mathurā Museum. Second century A.D. Arms broken. Height: 2 ft. 10¾ in.

The subject is related to that of Plate 37. On another railing post from Mathurā, the Yakṣī raises a bowl towards a couple in embrace on the balcony.

40. *Head of image of Jain Saviour* (Tīrthaṅkara) from Mathurā; now Mathurā Museum. Fragment, slightly damaged. About fourth century. Height: 13 in.

Whereas the earlier images of the Mathurā school are of red or red-cream mottled Sikri sandstone, the sculptures of the subsequent periods are of cream sandstone.

41. *Image of Buddha*, from Bodh-gayā, Bihār; now National Museum of India, New Delhi. Fourth century. Height: 3 ft. 8¼ in.

Buff sandstone. Robe tinted ochre, lips red. Inscribed in the year 64 of Mahārāja Trikamala. The image, but for the halo and the garment on the left, is carved in the round. Arms broken. Face damaged, halo broken.
The image is seated with legs locked in the Lotus-seat (*padmāsana*). This yoga posture of stability carries the body straight and allows it the immobility which meditation requires. The left hand rested on the left knee; the right hand was raised in the gesture of granting fearlessness.
Most conspicuous amongst the more than human signs (*lakṣaṇa*) which show the image to be that of the Buddha is the stūpa-shaped excrescence (*uṣṇīṣa*) of the head which is the symbol of Nirvāṇa. Head and *uṣṇīṣa* are covered with ringlets of the cut-off hair (cf. Plate 36); each a spiral, indicating coiled power.
The capacious skull and broad forehead are further *lakṣaṇas*. The circle on the forehead, at the meeting of the eyebrows, is called *ūrṇā* and is situated at the meeting of the world of the senses and the intellect.
Uṣṇīṣa and *ūrṇā* are signs of Illumination. Their position is given by the respective *cakra* or seat of consciousness. The lips, particularly the lower lip, are relaxed in meditation. The entire heroic effort of mind and spirit is concentrated in the region from eyes to *uṣṇīṣa*.
The meditation shown in this image is the last in the 'world of pure form' (*rūpa-dhātu*). Its content is one-pointedness (*ekāgratā*). The meditations which have, for their content, happiness, rapture, reflection and discrimination, precede this meditation. They all imply 'one-pointedness', but are left behind one after the other, beginning from 'discrimination' until *ekāgratā* alone leads from the World of Pure Form to that of Formlessness (*arūpadhātu*).
Further to be noted are the triple fold of the neck and the navel. The latter is clearly shown although the robe covers the body of the image from the left shoulder downwards.

42. *Two worshippers in procession*, within arched niche. Fragment. Dark grey schist. Swat valley, Gandhāra school; now Private Collection, Delhi. Third century A.D. Height: 10½ in.

The surrounding arch of the niche with leaf pendants, griffin socles and draped figures leaning on its outer curve

is a well-known motif in Gandhāra reliefs. Two worshippers in procession, the one with folded hands, the other carrying offerings, wear heavy shawls, whose treatment seems to anticipate the style of drapery in the Chinese cave sanctuaries at Lung Men. The ribbed and curved inner niche and the palmette enclosed by it make an unusual frame and background for the two figures in procession.

43. *Head of image of Bodhisattva.* Stucco. Gandhāra school; now City Art Museum, St. Louis, Missouri. About fourth century.

The treatment of the eyes is reminiscent of the work of the school of Mathurā. The modelling seems to dwell on each part of the face.

44. *Head of image of Buddha.* Lime composition. Gandhāra; now Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Fifth century. Height: about 11½ in.

The clear-cut planes and pure lines relate this head to the contemporary school of Sarnath. Originally the head was painted.

45. *Head of image of Bodhisattva.* Stucco. Hadda, Afghanistan; now Seattle Art Museum. Fourth to fifth century. Height: 9 in.

This head combines the ornate head-dress of a Bodhisattva with the *uṣṇīṣa* of the Buddha (cf. note on Plate 41).

46. *Ekamukha Śiva Liṅga in cave temple* (4), Udayagiri, Madhya Pradesh. Beginning of fifth century.

The Sign (Liṅga) of Śiva rises in echoing spheres of abstract shape and human face. The wide-eyed countenance is framed by locks carved with archaic discretion. The sculpture emerges in the centre of the cave out of the rock from which its shape has been freed.

47. *The Boar Incarnation* (Varāha-avatār) *of Viṣṇu.* Rock sculpture. Udayagiri, Madhya Pradesh. Beginning of fifth century (about 400). Height: 12 ft. 8 in.

The Boar incarnation is Viṣṇu's third Descent (avatār) into manifestation in order to save the world. In this third cosmological avatār, Viṣṇu rescued the Earth from the cosmic sea, where she had been engulfed by the Serpent power of the deep. The goddess rests on the flower garland of the boar-headed giant, on his left arm, and clings to his tusk. Her feet are supported on a lotus held by the vanquished serpent king, below. He worships Viṣṇu, who steps on the coils of the serpent while the Boar emerges in the region of the gods and sages. Their figures are aligned in four parallel rows, above the waves of the world ocean.

The waves of the descending rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā—and their goddesses—are carved on the right and left (not shown in the photograph) of the main wall on the lateral wings of the rock-cut bay. It is shaded by the ledge of the rock above.

48. *Entrance of Viṣṇu Temple*, Deogarh, U.P. The temple faces West. Early sixth century. Measures of door frame: 11 ft. 2 in. × 10 ft. 9 in.

The door frame consists of four main jambs, each with a large figure at the base. The innermost, male figures are the guardians of the threshold. The surround above them shows the lotus waves with the Yakṣas at the bottom as their source. The next major surround shows an attendant goddess below; celestial couples (*mithuna*) and gnomes on the jambs (*śākhā*), and above, on the horizontal part of the frame, celestials are seen flying with garlands towards Viṣṇu. He is enthroned on the coils of the serpent 'Endless' (*Ananta*). The image of Viṣṇu occupies a square which connects the triple door lintel of the inner surround.

The next main door jambs show 'celestials in their mansions'. They carry the overdoor of architectural shape, the roof of the celestial mansion.

The outermost surround appears carried by gnomes, is carved with Dhatūrā leaves and widens at the top, where the images of the goddesses of the celestial rivers, Gaṅgā and Yamunā are stationed. The symbols of the entrance refer to protection from the dangers of the threshold, to lustration and the new life which springs from the contact with the celestial waters. Above, a frieze of lion heads is seen projecting. They mark the ends of simulated rafters (as of an original wooden structure). Also reminiscent of an original wooden structure are the horizontal extension of the overdoor and the name, *śākhā*, of the door jambs or mouldings of the door frame, which signifies 'branch'.

The door with its stepped and diverse mouldings is set back from the plain stone walls built of large stones which are joined without mortar. A continuous line of diminutive niches in low relief, above overdoor and wall, continues the theme 'mansion of the gods' and mediates between wall and superstructure of the temple.

The socle in the small, dark, cave-like sanctuary (*garbhagṛiha*) is now without the image which it originally supported.

49. *Terracotta head*; from Pawaya; now Gwalior Fort, Archaeological Museum. Moulded and tooled. Sixth century. Height of face: about 3½ in.

50. *Head of Buddha image.* Fragment. From Sarnath; now National Museum of India, New Delhi. About 500 or early sixth century. Height: 7¾ in.

51. *Ratha*; projection on South face of Viṣṇu temple (see Plate 48) with recessed niche (*ghanadvāra*) showing Viṣṇu lying on the world serpent 'Endless'. Deogarh, U.P. Early sixth century.

The Ratha lends its frame of pilasters and lintels to a recessed niche in which is displayed Viṣṇu in Yoganidrā, *i.e.*, slumbering wakefully on the World Serpent 'Endless' or 'Remainder' (Ananta, Śeṣa) in the interval (*pralaya*) between the dissolution of the World and its new creation.

Viṣṇu reclines on a bed of serpent coils, the seven heads of the serpent forming a halo around his crowned head. His hands are without attributes, at rest; they touch his own body and the serpent. The Goddess Lakṣmī supports and massages his right foot; the sun bird Garuḍa, in human shape, and another goddess (*Gāndhārī*) complete the group filling the middle zone of the panel.

Above, in the centre, Brahmā is enthroned on a lotus whose stalk had sprouted from Viṣṇu's navel; the gods Kārttikeya and Indra are on his right, Śiva-Pārvatī and the Maruts on his left.

The lower part of the panel (carved on a separate slab) shows the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, which were to be slain by Viṣṇu. The four remaining figures are personifications of the potency of Viṣṇu's four hands.

The niche is a *ghanadvāra* or solid door through which the divinity enshrined in the temple manifests itself in some of its major aspects.

52. Detail of Plate 51. Śeṣaśāyī-Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu is the name of this type of composition. It shows the cosmogonic Supreme Viṣṇu. Brahmā is Nārāyaṇa's consciousness and effects creation.

53. *Celestial couples and trees.* Brackets of capitals in rock-cut Viṣṇu temple (cave III). Badami, South-West Deccan. 578. Height of figures: above 3 ft.

The one goddess holds a cup in her left hand, the god a fruit in his right. A companion spirit below. Traces of plaster and painting on the cassetted and vaulted ceiling.

54. *Attendant divinities* (Indra), on right and left of image of Mahāvīra. White marble. Nadia (Sirohi), S. Rājasthān. Seventh century. Height: 2 ft. 9 in.

The two images, each carrying a fly-whisk, and the celestials (*Vyantara devatā*) which hover near their heads, are part of the original image. (Glazed, coloured tiles have been inserted in modern times between the figures. The image of Mahāvīra is in worship.)

55. *Portrait head of a lady*. Mathurā; now Mathurā Museum. Fifth century or much earlier. Nearly life size.

Proportions and expression of the face deviate from the ideal norm of divine images. The head-dress in the shape of a high cap is made of closely laid rolls of cloth. Its ends lie in a frill on an abundant mass of hair. The head possibly portrays a foreign lady of distinction. Its date is uncertain.

56. *Jīvantasvāmī*. Light-coloured bronze, eyes inlaid with silver, lower lip inlaid with copper. Fragment; part view. Akota, Baroda; now Baroda Museum. About sixth century. Height: 4¼ in.

Jīvantasvāmī is an image of Mahāvīra prior to his becoming the twenty-fourth and last Tīrthaṅkara, or Saviour, of the Jains.

Plates 57–77 illustrate temples and sculptures of the Southern Deccan[1].

57. *Temples of Makuṭeśvaranātha* (in worship; white-washed), *Saṅgameśvara and Liṅga shrine* in Viṣṇu's lotus pond. Mahakut, near Badami, South-West Deccan (Maisur). About 600.

The temples form part of an enclosed assembly of shrines around Viṣṇu's lotus pond. They are all of the same age, are built in different styles, and represent different stages of development.
The Liṅga pavilion in the pond has for its roof two super-imposed stone slabs surmounted by an Āmalaka.
The Saṅgameśvara temple has a central projection (see Plate 51) on each of its walls. Collateral miniature shrines mark the beginning of a subsequent development of collateral and subordinated projections. The shrine and its pillared porch are raised on a socle (cf. Fig. 15). The roof of the porch is flat and is derived from the same construction as the roof of the Liṅga shrine and the two tiers above the wall. The Śikhara or superstructure above them shows each tier separately enriched by carvings. They have for their motif a series of interconnected *Gavākṣas*, diminutive 'ray-eyes' or windows, while some of the tiers have their four corners ribbed in Āmalaka shape.
The array of diminishing tiers carries the theme of the central projection (*Ratha*) to the truncated top, which has a square slab for its cover. From the centre of this shoulder course (*Vedi*) emerges the 'shaft' of the pillar. It is clasped by the ringstone of the Āmalaka. The finial is missing. The tower shape of the Śikhara is curved in outline and follows the shape of bamboos, fixed at the corners and tied at the point. Internally the Śikhara is not meant to be seen and is closed by the flat ceiling of the cubical Garbhagṛiha. This type of temple, having a curvilinear superstructure, is the most widely represented and is known as Nāgara.
The Makuṭeśvaranātha Temple shows the superstructure of its sanctuary rising from a surrounding hall. The parapet of the hall has the shape of a cloister of temple-aediculae. These are repeated on the superstructure, above a wall articulated by pilasters and marking the first storey (*bhūmi*) of the superstructure. The same theme is taken up by the last storey, where it is merged with the roof shapes of the aediculae which cling to the eight sides of the dome. (The finial is modern.) In the interior, a flat ceiling closes off the sanctuary of the ground floor. The superstructure as a rule is meant to be seen from the outside only. The Makuṭeśvaranātha Temple represents a regional style (*i.e.* that of the Kanarese country) of Drāviḍa architecture.

[1]Cf. Plates 96–105, which are representative of cave sculpture in the Northern Deccan. Plates 78–95 illustrate the corresponding phase of art in South India. The different receptions of the South Indian school in the Southern Deccan and in the Northern Deccan can be seen by comparing Plates 70 and 104 as well as Plates 68 and 105.

58. *Temple* (No. 10), Aiholi, South-West Deccan. Sixth to seventh century.

This temple has plain walls; sanctuary and hall are one by juxtaposition and contrast. The temple lacks high plinth and projections. The superstructure shows seven slabs with intervening wall space. The slabs are carved with Gavākṣa motifs. Each wall is a series of recessed niches. This 'seven-storeyed' superstructure is surmounted by a relatively high neck of the central shaft, and an Āmalaka. Its curvilinear shape carries simulated 'storeys'.
The temples of the South-West Deccan from the sixth to the eighth century show an interchange of themes of collateral styles.

59. *Kinnara couple* (Amara Mithuna); panel on ceiling of hall of rock-cut Śiva temple, Aiholi, South-West Deccan. About seventh century.

The curly scrolls of the tail feathers of these 'well-feathered' (*su-parṇa*) Kinnara and Kinnarī are at the same time those of the vapour of the air ocean, whose denizens these celestials are.

60. *Ceiling panel with Vyantara devatās* (Kinnara couple), *fish, lotus and flaming scrolls*. Main hall of rock-cut Jain temple. Aiholi, South-West Deccan. About 700. Height: 3 ft.

The central lotus at the intersection of the diagonals is surrounded by shapes and symbols of the three elements, Air being represented by the Vyantara Devatās (the gods of the 'Middle World', according to Jain iconography; cf. Plate 54), Water by lotus and fish shapes and the Fiery element, in particular, by the lambent lateral scroll triangles.

61. *Image of Śiva*, on wall of so-called 'Durga' Temple (a Viṣṇu Temple), Aiholi. Seventh century.

The eight-armed image of Śiva (*vṛṣavāhanamūrti*) stands leaning on Nandin, the Bull of Śiva and is accompanied by a sprite (Śivagaṇa). Left arms, etc., broken.

62. *Viṣṇu Anantaśayana*; ceiling panel from hall (*maṇḍapa*) of Haccappya Guḍi (Temple No. 9), Aiholi; now Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Seventh to eighth century.

The subject of Plates 51–52 is shown here abbreviated, and adjusted to the position of the relief as one of the ceiling slabs of a hall. The attributes of the power of the god, the wheel, club, etc., are carved next to the recumbent image. They are not personified. Lateral scroll borders connected the compositions of the relief slabs (see Plate 63). Upper part damaged.

63. *Brahmā praised by Ṛṣis* (sages); ceiling panel, from Maṇḍapa of Haccappya Guḍi; now Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Seventh to eighth century.

Brahmā, enthroned in a posture of royal ease (*lalitāsana*) on a lotus throne. Celestial Ṛṣis emerge from clouds; the Haṃsa, the wild gander, the Vāhana (vehicle) and bird symbol of Brahmā, turns around towards his hand holding the rosary. The other hands hold the sacrificial ladle and water flask. The lower left, as if in the attitude of giving boons, counts the sacred syllables of the Mantra.

64 and 65: details of Plate 63.

66. *North Wall (East part) with images of Kapila and Viṣṇu Varāha; and a Śaiva image.* Virūpākṣa Temple, Pattadakal, Maisur, South-West Deccan. About 740.

The central buttress (on the right) of the North wall (cf. Plate 57, the Makuṭeśvaranātha temple) has for its main image the eight-armed figure of Kapila, the author of the Sāṅkhya teaching (p. 14). In him Viṣṇu (Pradyumna) was incarnated. The eight arms hold emblems of Viṣṇu. The right hands show: The gesture of granting Fearlessness (abhayamudrā); the *cakra* or Sun-wheel, ploughshare, sword and mace. The main left hand rests on the hip, the others hold conch, bow and noose (?). A gnome-like Devagaṇa on either side.
Below the projecting plinth of the stele of Kapila a relief panel of Durgā, the Great Goddess, slayer of the Buffalo demon, helps to fill the Ghanadvāra. Its pilasters are crowned by an arch of intricate carvings; in the middle, on a console, is the image of Umā-Maheśvara (Śiva and Pārvatī). It is flanked by Makaras with gaping jaws, bodies of feathery foam-scrolls and putti-like Yakṣas.
The pantheon of the central Ratha is framed by an outer set of pilasters, on the highest plane of projection. Identical pilasters frame the first projection. On the recessed part of the wall an image slab of Viṣṇu Varāha is surrounded by the plain surface of the large building stones, whereas the following pier sets off the shape of a small shrine against its intermediate projection. The horizontal mouldings above and below are enriched with window and rafter-end motifs carved with symbolic devices appropriate to their place. The bracket capitals of the high pilasters accentuate the vertical divisions of the wall, from whatever angle it is seen (cf. Plate 70).

67. *Haṃsa* on North wall of Virūpākṣa Temple, Pattadakal. About 740.

The Bird of Brahmā fills the small panel with its forward stride, the backward curve of its neck, the scrolls of its plumage.
Cf. the transitions from modelled form and melting shades to slanting planes and arrises punctuated by flecks of darkness, with some of the reliefs on the door jambs of Plate 48.

68. *Flying Vidyādhara* (celestial wizard) on East wall; next to bracket capital of a pilaster. Virūpākṣa Temple, Pattadakal. About 740.

69. *Couple embracing.* East Face of Nandī Maṇḍapa, Virūpākṣa Temple, Pattadakal. About 740. Height: 3 ft. 2 in.

The man holds his right hand against his chest in *triśūla hasta*, which denotes the threefold unity of Śiva, Lord of past, present and future; the woman holds a flower in her left hand in 'Kaṭaka mukha'. The man rests on his right, the woman on her left leg. His long hair is coiled on top of his head though he is not a *sādhu*. The Dravidian physiognomy is pronouncedly shown in this case though it underlies also the divine countenance (Plates 68, 72). The limbs of these figures, and particularly the legs, show restive distortions and a slackness of form (see also the shape of the man's loin cloth which is tucked up like a pouch).

70. *Mallikārjuna Temple*, from South-West. Pattadakal, South-West Deccan. About 745. Height: about 60 ft.

The temple is adjacent to the Virūpākṣa Temple. Both these temples represent the fully evolved regional style of Drāviḍa architecture (cf. Plate 57).
The temple is raised on a terrace, which forms an outer ambulatory. The solid plinth with its series of mouldings ends with a lion frieze. The walls of the temple are those of the Maṇḍapa (on the right) and of the inner ambulatory of the Vimāna (the temple proper). Their piers have the shape of chapels. Each has its dome or vaulted roof, the one having a four-sided dome marks the corner of the structure. It is repeated, in diminishing scale, on the 'ambulatory' of each of the two main storeys of the superstructure.
The flat roof of the main floor of the building allows for an outer ambulatory of the first floor of the superstructure. This theme is carried out formally, though not actually, on each storey of the superstructure. The walls of the ambulatory on the fourth floor are overshadowed by eaves. They are however without domes or vaults. The fifth storey has no 'parapet'. It is a level shoulder course. From this high terrace rises the broad circular section of the 'pillar' of the temple. It is capped by a circular dome, which is surmounted by the finial.
The upper storeys of the superstructure are simulative. In plan, the 'chapels' or buttresses are not sufficiently subordinated in their projections to that of the central buttress (cf. Plate 132). They sprawl. In elevation, the attempt is made of keeping intact the walls of each floor while planning their recess from storey to storey so that the skyline of the superstructure is curvilinear. This double concession of Drāviḍa themes in plan and elevation to the Nāgara type of temple imparts indecision to the architectural form of this regional style (cf. also note on previous Plate).

71. *Panel of pillar in hall* (Maṇḍapa), with scenes from the legend of the Deodar forest, between scrolls above, and Gaṇas surrounded by garlands and lion masks (Kīrttimukha) below. Mallikārjuna Temple, Pattadakal, South-West Deccan. About 745.

The black and white effect of the relief is due to the midday sun which hit the pillar through a break in the roof.
In the temples from about the sixth century A.D., narrative reliefs were relegated to subordinate positions, on pillars of the hall or in recessed portions, as friezes at the bottom or top of the walls (cf. Plate 116).

72. *Śiva Bhairava dancing.* South Wall, Mallikārjuna Temple, Pattadakal. About 745. Upper part of image only. Leg broken. Width: 20 in.

Blissful terror torments the face and the movement of Śiva Bhairava's dancing body. Threatening, the left hand (*tarjanī hasta*) is held in front of the chest, the upper left, brandishing a serpent and the main right hand a *khaṭvāṅga* (skull-staff). The upper right is only sketched. The third eye on the forehead, jewel chains on the body and a low crown of matted hair (*jaṭā mukuṭa*), are sculptural accents of definite meaning.

73. *Attendant divinity holding fly-whisk.* Viśva-Brahmā Temple, Alampur, A.P., Deccan. About eighth century.

The relief is below the architrave, to the left of the pediment over the fifth niche on the South Face (see Plate 76) of the temple. Right leg and arm partly broken.

With less tension than in Pattadakal, the sculptures in Alampur are at home in their broad and always consistently varied idiom (cf. Plates 74–77). The dwarfed female child-shape on the left repeats in a dance posture and in the opposite sense the triple bend (*tribhaṅga*) of the stance of the attendant. Her hip girdle and the garment fastened to it, above her loincloth, are unusual. The horizontal folds below the breasts are marks of beauty in sculptures of this age. Their presence and meaning are not as indispensable as those of the navel, in male and female images, and of the rotundities of breasts and hips, in the female figures.
Flying Vidyādharas, of the same form idiom as the attendant goddess but similar in position to those shown in Plate 77, are carved to the left proper of the wall against which the group of the attendant divinity is set off.

74. *Sūrya, the Sun god.* Alampur, Museum. South Deccan. Seventh to eighth century. Height: 4 ft. 8 in.

The image stands straight as a pillar with both feet firmly planted (*sama-pāda-sthānaka*) on a semicircular lotus pedestal. The image wears no garment except a very short loincloth. The delicate ornaments on crown and body and the sacred thread span and accentuate the pure and firmly modelled shape. The raised hands of the image hold each a lotus above shoulder height. The back slab of this image is indicated by the halo, in low relief, behind the head and by the low relief at the base showing the chariot, Aruṇa, the charioteer, and the seven horses of the sun.
The image occupied a niche in the temple wall or was set up in the Garbhagṛiha. The height of the image in the Garbhagṛiha is seven-eighths of the height of the door. The module of a temple is the width of the sanctuary or the height of the image.

75. *Two faces above brimming vase;* capital of pilaster, Svarga Brahmā Temple, South Face. Alampur, South Deccan. Late seventh century (681?).

Grotesque faces in profile, each composed in a rectangle of its own, are aligned below the niches of the Viśva Brahmā Temple (Plate 76). The two faces on a pilaster of the Svarga Brahmā Temple are an exceptional pair. Single grotesque faces—though in front view and female—look out from some of the Gavākṣas in Māmallapuram of about the same age. The position of such 'window shapes' is seen in Plate 78.

76. *Viśva Brahmā Temple* from South East. Alampur, Andhra Pradesh, South Deccan. About eighth century.

The curvilinear Śikhara (cf. Plate 57), consolidated in the definition of its parts, rises above a hall-temple in which the sanctuary is at the western end. Here as in all the Vimānas preceded by a Maṇḍapa, a door framed by a series of jambs enriched with symbolic sculptures, leads into the Maṇḍapa; a second door, coaxial with the outer door and richer as a rule in framing sculpture leads from the Maṇḍapa into the Garbhagṛiha. Its place within the building is in continuation of the East face of the Śikhara.

77. *Vidyādharas flying; with lotus bud and mirror.* Svarga Brahmā Temple, Alampur, South Deccan. Late seventh century.

Architectural formalization of a ubiquitous symbolic theme.

Plates 78–95 illustrate temples and sculptures of South India.

78. *Nakula-Sahadeva Ratha, Lion and Elephant Vāhanas;* rock-cut granite. Māmallapuram, near Madras. About middle of seventh century.

Rock-cut sculpture in the round, architectural form and uncut boulders lie side by side and show the Vehicles (*vāhana*) of the gods and their temples. The Lion is the Vāhana of the Great Goddess (whose temple, not shown in the photograph, is to the East). The elephant, Vāhana of Indra, and the four-storeyed apsidal temple (Ratha = chariot) known by the names of Nakula and Sahadeva, are both seen from the back. Apsidal temples are classified as *hasti-pṛiṣtha,* which means 'elephant-back'. The juxtaposition of the two shapes is not fortuitous.
This type of temple, evolved in Buddhist usage, had been adjusted internally for Hindu rites. The excavation of the monolith of the Nakula-Sahadeva Ratha however was not completed in the interior. A rampart of 'chapels' surrounds two storeys of the monument.

79. *Monkeys.* Sculpture in the round. Rock-cut granite. Māmallapuram, near Madras. About middle of seventh century.

The group is close to the Kirātārjunīya relief (Plates 80–82).

80. *Kirātārjunīya.* Rock-cut relief, detail. Granite. Māmallapuram, near Madras. About middle of seventh century. Size of the entire relief: about 84 ft. × 28 ft.

The relief is carved on the vertical surface of a rock which is divided by a natural cleft (at the left of the Plate). On the left 'half' is carved the story of the Pāṇḍava hero, Arjuna, who, performing austerities, won from Śiva his weapon, Pāśupatāstra. Śiva reveals to Arjuna that in his former life he was the great sage Nara, who performed austerities for 1,000 years. 'This person (Arjuna) is none else than the Aṃśa [part-Avatār] (called Nara) come to the mortal world as . . . God Viṣṇu. . . .' 'This person (the hero Arjuna) and this Acyuta [Viṣṇu], who is Kṛiṣṇa, these two Supreme Beings live now in the mortal world among mortals at the request of Brahmā to protect people from Asuras' [the powers of evil].[1] The emaciated ascetic shapes of Nara and Arjuna performing austerities represent the dual incarnation of Viṣṇu Kṛiṣṇa. They are shown in their setting of gods and ascetics (on the left half of the relief, on the rock boulder left of the cleft). To the right (Plate 80) is shown the resultant beatitude in the universe. The serpent gods of the nether region ascend from the waters below (water filled the pond at the foot of the relief) in the cleft which represents the river Ganges. The joy of the creatures on earth is embodied in the elephants and other animal shapes. The denizens of the air and the celestials approach in the upper regions towards the scene of Śiva's revelation to Arjuna.
In a small group, on the left of the large elephant, the beatitude in the animal world is shown by a cat performing austerities. Technically, the joyous onrush of all beings is organized in the relief by deep horizontal and vertical grooves. They protect the carvings from the water, released from a cistern on top of the rock, which flowed into the pond at its foot.

81. *Group of Brahmacārīs and ascetics;* detail on left part of rock at bottom (see Plate 80).

Two young disciples are shown on the bank of the Ganges, the one carrying water and the other wringing his wet garment after the bath. The one ascetic on the left is in worshipful salutation, the other gazes at the sun through the fingers of his raised hands.

82. *Siddhas flying.* Detail of Kirātārjunīya relief, on extreme right of right half (cf. Plate 80).

[1]See an article on the Kirātārjunīya by T. N. Ramachandran in Vol. XVIII, of the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art,* 1951, pp. 1–110.

Siddhas are perfected beings of semi-divine nature characterized by eight supernatural faculties. Here two Siddhas are seen flying, their right hands raised in the 'half-moon' gesture (*ardha-candra-hasta*) convey meditation and welcome. A lotus bud is in the left of the younger Siddha.

83. Part of unfinished relief (representing the same subject as Plate 80) on another rock boulder. Māmallapuram. About middle of seventh century.

84. *Viṣṇu Anantaśayana;* rock-cut relief occupying the left wall of the Mahiṣamardanī cave, granite, Māmallapuram. About middle of seventh century.

Viṣṇu rests in Yoganidrā on Ananta (cf. Plates 51 and 62, neither of which is equal in conception and quality to this relief), and the mighty figures of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha brandish their weapons. The small figures of his consort, who salutes the god, and of the four personified weapons, moving and flying into action, enhance the calm and the tension of the scene.[1]

85. *The three strides of Viṣṇu* (rock-cut relief in Varāha cave II), Māmallapuram. About middle of seventh century. Height: about 5 ft 8 in.

Viṣṇu took possession of the universe in three strides (Trivikrama). His right foot rests in the nether world of the defeated demons, his raised left foot traverses the air world, where the soaring figures of the Sun and Moon and that of Triśaṅku, a denizen of mid-air, mark the second stride; the toe of the god's left foot, high up in the clouds, is worshipped by Brahmā in the heaven world. Śiva on his lotus is above the figure of Sūrya, on the right of Viṣṇu.
The God who measures the Universe in three strides is shown here at the same time as its supporting pillar. The weapons of Viṣṇu are: bow, shield, and conch on the left, sword, club and discus on the right. Up in the clouds, the bear-faced genie Jāmbavan beats the drum.

86. *Durgā killing the Buffalo demon* (rock-carved relief occupying the wall opposite to Plate 84, in Mahiṣamardanī cave), Māmallapuram. About middle of seventh century.

The Great Goddess, eight-armed and equipped with the weapons of all the gods and riding on her Lion, pulls the bow in her attack on the demon Mahiṣa, who retreats having lowered his club. A host of gaṇas and yoginīs assists the Goddess while the Asuras are vanquished. Umbrellas are held above the heads of both protagonists.

87. *Jalaśayana Temple and small Śiva Temple*, on the shore of Māmallapuram; structural temples; granite. Between 680 and 720. Height: about 67 ft.

The outer enclosure wall of the temple premises is set with the sculptures of Nandī, Śiva's bull. The inner enclosure wall, close to the body of the main temple, is set with wagon-vaulted chapels. The theme of the 'cloister' is resumed on the third and fourth 'floors' whereas the second and fifth storeys rise from terraces formed by the eaves of the flat roofs which overhang the walls below. The 'pillar' of the temple emerges from the platform above the tiers of storeys and is capped by a high octagonal dome shape and surmounted by the finial (restored). The pyramid of this pure type of a Drāviḍa temple is repeated on a smaller scale by the adjacent temple.

[1]Vestiges of plaster on the carvings in Varāha cave I, on an uncompleted version of the Kirātārjunīya (Pl. 83), and on the Jalaśayana temple, suggest that the stone-carved form was finished in detail in carved plaster and that this was painted.

88. *Veṭṭuvānkoil;* rock-cut Śiva temple; granite. Kalugumalai, Tinnevelly, South India. Height of Temple: about 30 ft. About late eighth century.

The temple is seen from north-east, in the pit of the rock. An ambulatory of only 3 ft. width at the bottom separates the carved walls of the temple from the cliffs around.
The temple, like all rock-cut shrines, was excavated from the top downwards. The octagonal dome is capped by a lotus, whence rose the finial. The sections of the dome are demarcated by ribs terminating in cascades of scrolls in between the eight Gavākṣas ('window' shapes) which are equally rich in scrolls and end at the top with a rectangular extension, on which is carved a lion 'Face of Glory' (*Kīrttimukha*) with scroll work.
Below every alternate Gavākṣa images are enthroned. The image of Śiva with Pārvati is in the East, where the temple faces. Śiva as Dakṣiṇāmurti faces the South (Plate 89). Brahmā is on the North side, and Narasiṃha in the West.
Behind these divinities, and from a platform, rises the 'shaft' of the temple. In the corners of the wider platform where the gods are seated, the image of Nandī occupies the intermediate directions. This high, square, platform is hemmed with lion and elephant shapes. It rests on the broad and vaulted eaves which roof the next lower storey. There the goddesses are stationed in windows and between the pilasters below (Plate 91). Gaṇas and Pramathas, the hosts of spirits, are aligned from pilaster to pilaster in the recess, above the vault of the next lower storey (see Plate 92).

89. *Veṭṭuvānkoil*, from South (see Plate 88); upper part of temple.
The four-armed image of Śiva Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Sum total of Knowledge and its expounder, places his left foot on the infant-shaped demon of Forgetfulness (*apasmāra puruṣa*) who clutches a serpent. The iconographic theme is integrated in the 'architectural' conception of the monument.

90. Detail of Plate 88.

Nandin; on north-east corner of Vedi (the top platform). The sacred Bull wears a necklace of bells.

91. *Surasundarī;* on West side, North corner of Veṭṭuvānkoil (cf. Plates 88–89). Height: 19 in.

This 'beautiful woman of the gods', like the others in her position, seems to emerge from the rock, from the hips upward. The lower part of her shape is only roughly sketched. Her left hand holds her veil. In addition to her ornaments this celestial woman wears the sacred thread over her left shoulder.

92. *Viṣṇu;* West face, lower floor of Veṭṭuvānkoil (cf. Plate 89). Middle section (partly damaged).

Viṣṇu holding the wheel and the conch in his two upper hands is shown as if rising from his throne with one foot placed on his seat, the other on a foot rest. In this posture of ease his figure is flanked by lively Gaṇas, on a ledge of the wall of the temple. The 'plinth' over its several mouldings is studded with lion-faced Śārdūlas. The vault of the roof of Viṣṇu's chapel is enriched with scroll cartouches and their male and female glendoveers.
The shadows in the recessed parts of this rock architecture are deepened by its position at the bottom of the excavated pit.

93. *Skanda* or Gurumūrti; in recess near West corner, North side, lower floor (cf. Plate 92) of Veṭṭuvānkoil.

Seated in *lalitāsana* on a throne supported by three leonine shapes, the richly bejewelled image holds in his right hand a

citrus fruit; the upper right is raised and holds a pestle (*musala*) ornamented with flowers and ribbons; in the upper left is a rosary; the lower left rests on the thigh. In addition to several belts the image wears a *cannavīra*, with a clasp in the middle of the chest.

94. *Dig-Devī* or Śakti; North face, East corner, lower floor. Veṭṭuvānkoil, Kalugumalai, South India.

One such goddess is seated in front of the square corner chapel on each of the four sides of the Vimāna.

95. *Pārśvanātha;* part view of rock-cut image of the Saviour (*Tīrthaṅkara*). Kalugumalai. About late eighth century. Height of image of Pārśvanātha: abont 4 ft.

The image belongs to the Digambara sect of the Jainas and is shown naked. Behind the Saviour who stands motionless in 'Kāyotsarga', rises the large shape of his Yakṣa Dharaṇendra. His crown is surrounded by a five-fold serpent hood. He holds two yak-tail fly-whisks against his shoulders. To the left proper of this group is the Yakṣī Padmāvatī. The single serpent hood above her crown reaches the height of the nipples of the image of Pārśvanātha.
On the right side (not shown in the Plate), a jubilant spirit hovers above the Tīrthaṅkara, while below, a crowned, kneeling figure salutes him.

Plates 96–105 illustrate rock sculptures of the North Western Deccan (Mahārāṣhṭra).

96. *Woman worshipping;* detail of one of the figures of a group of worshippers in a Buddhist cave temple (III) at Aurangabad, Deccan. Trap Rock, Detail. Sixth century. About life size.

The worshippers, men and women, kneel in two groups carved almost in the round against the right and left walls of the cave temple, and face toward the image of Buddha which is enthroned in the middle, against the back wall.

97. *Woman worshipping.* Detail (see Plate 96 (Cave III). Aurangabad, Deccan. Sixth century.

The varied coiffures and ornaments of these figures belong to one and the same type of form as the differentiated countenances with their diversified expressions of expectant prayer and devotional surrender.

98. *Attendant Goddess, holding a casket;* detail from 'The Austerities of Pārvatī'; Rāmeśvara Cave Temple, Elura. Sixth century.

99. *Śiva Tāṇḍava* (detail) in cave temple of Elephanta (Bombay). Trap rock (damaged). Sixth to early seventh century. Height: above 10 ft.

Śiva dances the world out of existence, in the burning ground. The burning ground is the heart of the Devotee laid waste; the ego is destroyed. The fetters are broken, and the dance of God, source and cause of all movement in creation, goes on.

100. *Mahādeva;* in central bay of cave temple, Elephanta (Bombay). Sixth to early seventh century. Height: 17 ft. 10 in.

The triune image is that of Śiva manifest as quiddity (Tatpuruṣa), in the central face. Together with the crown it is the pillar shape of the central Liṅga and body whence Śiva is revealed as polarity, male, in his creative-destructive fury on the right, female on the left.
The triune heads emerge from the central pillar and are carried on broad shoulders. The hand of Tatpuruṣa holds a citrus fruit and rosary. A Dvārapāla or guardian of the Gate is carved on either side of the bay.

101. *The face of Aghora-Bhairava* (detail of Plate 100).

A rearing serpent held in the hand of Bhairava confronts his face of wrath. The face is bearded, has a moustache, and a skull on its crown of matted locks and flowers.

102. *The face of Vāmadeva-Umā* (detail of Plate 100).

The face of bliss and beauty, the face of the goddess in Śiva.

103. *The Marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī* (detail). Rock-cut. Dhūmar Leṇā; Elura. Seventh century.
Flying Vidyādharas above the head of Pārvatī. The hand on the right belongs to Śiva.

104. *Kailāsanātha Temple,* from South West. Rock-cut. Elura. Second half of eighth century.

The Vimāna, the innermost sanctuary with its tower, rises from the pit, enclosed by cliffs (Height: 100 ft.). To the left is the hall of the temple. A lotus surmounted by lions is carved on its flat roof. The Vimāna has four major storeys. Each is girdled by tiers of aediculae with their Gavākṣas. The Kailāsanātha temple is purely Drāviḍa in shape, and is the northernmost representative of this order.

105. *Flying Devatā;* South face, second storey of Kailāsanātha Temple, Elura. Second half of eighth century.

106. *Sporting Yakṣa, and bird.* Lowermost part on wall of south door of Maṇḍapa. Rājīva Locana Temple, Rajim, Madhya Pradesh. Seventh to eighth century. Height of the entire panel: 4 ft. 9 in.

The stalk of the lotus-rhizome issues at the bottom of the panel from a pincer-shaped root motif and nodule. The Yakṣa's left leg and arm are put around the stalk whose wave, covered by lambent convolutions of foliage, emerges on the left and carries another soaring figure. A flower of the Aśoka tree is seen on the right and flowers are on the chignon of the Yakṣa. The waves in the borders of the panels are abbreviated versions of contemporary evolutions of the 'lotus-wave'. (Cf. also Plates 11, 15, 35, 51.)

107. *Caturmukha Mahādeva Temple.* Nāchnā-Kuthāra. Madhya Pradesh. Eighth century. Height: about 40 ft.

Whereas the walls of the temple are replete with tentative groupings of niches, their frame-work and pediments, the curvilinear Śikhara is consolidated in the outline and summation of its flat offsets. They are overspun with miniature Gavākṣas and terminate in points above the shoulder course of the Śikhara, where the pillar of the temple is seen to emerge, below the Āmalaka.

108. *Caturmukha Liṅga;* Caturmukha Mahādeva Temple, Nāchnā-Kuthāra. Madhya Pradesh. Eighth century. Height: 4 ft. 8 in.

The four-faced Liṅga is in the centre of the Garbhagṛiha. The significance of this symbol is the same as that of the image of Mahādeva in Elephanta (Plates 100–102). The latter is a relief and does not show the fourth face of Śiva (the face of Sadyojāta). It faces away from the entrance, towards the back wall of the Garbhagṛiha of the Caturmukha Mahādeva Temple. The four faces of Śiva comprise his total manifestation, in the four directions. The fifth face of Śiva is not shown. It is known to face upward where the pillar of the Liṅga raises its dome shape. [The 'Fifth face', Īśāna, is ontologically the first face of 'the coming into manifestation' of the transcendental Śiva.]

A Liṅga of this type is known as Caturmukha or Pañcamukha, of four faces or of five faces. Their eyes are open on the Liṅga in Kuthāra. The roaring mouth of Aghora-Bhairava, the third eye on the forehead, the three folds of the neck are symbols. Here they are only conventionally part of the sculptural form. It is spread out at the base and forms a square plinth. (Cf. also Plates 46 and 142.)

109. *Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī Siddhaikavīra;* bronze, eyes inlaid with silver; from Nālandā (Bihar); now Indian Museum, Calcutta. Late seventh century. Height: about 8 in.

A Bodhisattva is an 'essentially awakened' Being who renounces entering Nirvāṇa in order to help man to attain Nirvāṇa. Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī Siddhaikavīra holds the right hand in the attitude of giving boons (*varada mudrā*) and a blue lotus flower in his left. The long stalk runs parallel with the curve of the Prabhāmaṇḍala, the effulgence of the Bodhisattva. The oval *prabhāmaṇḍala* is decorated with lotuses which were studded with gems. Its edge is set with flames.
The image stands in *ābhaṅga* (the Indian contrapost, a slight bend) on a lotus pedestal. Like the image of Śiva and Avalokiteśvara, it has the forehead marked with the third eye; the hair is dressed in a crown of strands of hair (*jaṭāmukuṭa*). The lotus flower above the head of the image covers the handle of the umbrella which surmounted the image.

110. *Kṛiṣṇa dancing on the Serpent Kāliya.* Bronze, from South India; now Collection of N. Y. Shastri, Adyar. Early tenth century. Height: 23½ in.

Kṛiṣṇa dances on the hood of the defeated Serpent—who salutes the god—and holds in his left hand the end of the Serpent's tail. The right hand of Kṛiṣṇa grants fearlessness (*abhaya-mudrā*). The dance posture is Aindra, the weight of the body being thrown on one leg, bent in the knee, while the other is raised with knee bent. The posture indicates sovereignty. The image was meant to be carried in procession.

111. *Portrait statue of a young saint* (?), part view; in niche of West Wall, Nāgeśvarasvāmī Temple; granite. Kumbhakonam, South India. About third quarter of ninth century. Height of the entire figure: about 4 ft.

The figure of a young man, the upper part of his body bare and wearing no ornaments, is one of several 'portrait-images' on the walls of the temple. The face is framed by elaborately dressed hair, has strong and noble features, beard and moustache. The right hand is raised in *tarjanī hasta* (see Plate 72), the left rests on the hip.

112. *Portrait statue of a Svāmī.* Figure in main niche on South Wall, Nāgeśvarasvāmī Temple; Kumbhakonam. South India, granite. Detail. About third quarter of ninth century. Height of the entire figure: 4 ft. 6 in.

Portrait of a heavily built man, clean-shaven, curly-haired, wearing neither elaborate coiffure nor jewels; a scarf is folded over his left shoulder, a long *dhoṭī* reaches almost to the ankles; the figure stands straight on both feet. The right hand is raised with *kaṭaka mukha* connoting the gathering of flowers, the left rests on the hip.
The sequence of the parts of the pilasters forms a proportionate accompaniment to those of the figure.

113. *Dancing Apsaras.* Detail from wall painting (Chamber VII), inner ambulatory of Vimāna. Bṛihadīśvara Temple, Tanjore. About 1010.

114. *Umā*, bronze; from South India; now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Early twelfth century. Height: 12 in.

115. *Sūrya Temple* (Temple of the Sun god), Osiā, Rājasthān. About 900.

The sanctuary proper (*vimāna; prāsāda*) of this temple of the Nāgara style (cf. Plates 57 and 107) is a perfect example of one of its most widespread types. The phase is one of regional maturity.
The clarity of the plan is carried upward by the projections of the vertical wall and their continuation on the curvilinear Śikhara. The horizontal themes of socle and entablature of the wall prepare the horizontal articulation of the quoins. Each unit there is covered with 'ray-eye' motifs (*gavākṣa*).
The central projections on each face of the Śikhara are overspun by a carved net of similar Gavākṣas. The large Āmalaka on top gathers in its corrugated circular rim the facets of walls and Śikhara.

116. *Harihara Temple* II, South wall. Osiā, Rājasthān. Ninth century.

The main image on the South wall is Viṣṇu Trivikrama (the Three Strides of Viṣṇu, cf. Plate 85). On his right proper is Gaṇeśa, leader of Śiva's host (gaṇa); on the left is Candra, the Moon god. The Dikpālas are Yama, the god of Death, on the right and Agni, the god of Fire, on the left of Viṣṇu.
The graded projection of the offsets or buttresses is seen more clearly in this than in the preceding Plate. The effect of the temple, being a work of monumental sculpture, depends on the light. The vertical projections are carried from the base of the walls to the top of the Śikhara. The indented cross shape of their plan breaks the continuity of the sides of the temple. These are not façades. Their facets lead from one projection to the next, around the monument.

117. *Scene of dance and music*, from Harṣagiri (Purāṇa Mahādeo Temple); now Sikar Museum, Rājasthān. 961–973. Height: 19 in.

The female dancer in the centre and the four male musicians at her side, all long-haired and some bearded, are engaged in a dance of calm (*lasya*), the movement of their crossed legs and bent knees (in the position *ayata*) allows them to play on drum, flute and *mṛdaṅga* (the barrel-shaped drum). The dancer raises a flower and holds her left hand in *alapadma*, the open hand signifying lotus, or mirror and other objects, qualities, or moods, in the context of the dance. The flute player shown in back view wears a scarf around the chest, in addition to loin-cloth and jewellery worn by all the figures.

118. *Scene of dance and music*, from Harṣagiri (Purāṇa Mahādeo Temple); now Sikar Museum, Rājasthān. 961–973. Height: 16½ in.

Lute (*viṇā*) and cymbals, in addition to drum and flute accompany this movement (*caraṇa*) of the *Lasya* dance. The female dancer in the middle raises her left hand in *patākā hasta*, the drum and cymbal players next to her are actively engaged in the dance; its movement ebbs away on the right and left, in the swaying attitudes of *tribhaṅga* and *ābhaṅga*, where the body is trebly or only slightly flexed, in varied degrees of participation.

119. *Vṛkṣa Devatā*, from Gyāraspur; now Gwalior Fort, Archaeological Museum, Madhya Pradesh. Tenth century. Height: 19½ in. Fragment.

The Tree Goddess in the triple bend and axial torsion, in the well-defined delights of her body and suggestiveness of her face, in which the single traits convey much, though

sculpturally they count no more than her cumbrous ornaments and detailed coiffure, comes more than a thousand years after her greater embodiment in Sanchi (Plate 24). The stem of the tree above her right shoulder is broken.

120. *Cāmuṇḍā*; Head of image of one of the Seven Mothers; now Bhilsa Museum, Madhya Pradesh. About 1000. Height: 2 ft.

The Goddess shows her Śaiva denomination by her crown of matted hair (*jaṭāmukuṭa*). Nose and mouth damaged.

121. *Kandarīya Temple*, south-west corner of Vimāna (prāsāda). Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh. Early eleventh century. Height: 101 ft. 9 in.

The temple is raised on a terrace. Above the solid socle of the temple are the pillared balconies which project from the inner ambulatory on the level of the first of the three belts of sculpture. These girdle the faceted buttresses between the major piers of the projected balconies, the middle one of the three buttresses representing the south-west corner of the temple proper (cf. note on Plate 116).

The buttresses are continued in the superstructure. There they are extended in the shape of miniature Śikharas, each being a reduced 'model' of the main, crowning Śikhara. Their triple array clings to the body of the main Śikhara and fills the space between the layered pediments of the balconies and the half-Śikharas which, above them and leaning one on the other, are seen to cling to the main Śikhara in the four directions.

Between the sets of 'half-Śikharas' and between each vertical series of miniature Śikharas in the corners are interpolated further part-Śikharas. Their array is punctuated by Āmalakas and finials and their profiles, seen from any angle, ascend in a curve (*rekhā*). This most complex type of the Nāgara Śikhara achieves unity of form by proliferation and repetition according to proportionate measurement in plan and elevation.

The balconies of the Prāsāda (Vimāna) project from the inner ambulatory of the Garbhagṛiha of the temple, which has a double set of walls. The outer wall with the triple belt of figures shows the array of gods and goddesses on the piers, each pier having offsets in three directions. The recessed part is occupied by reliefs of Śārdūlas in all three belts. In each position, identical or allied themes are carved throughout the three belts in their vertical sequence (for example serpent-hooded Nāginīs). All the images are stationed on consoles and below canopies on the underside of widely projected fillets.

122. *Mithuna; and Surasundarī*. Kālī Devī Temple, Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh. Eleventh century. Height: about 4ft.

The two images of the wall are meant to be seen each by itself as well as both together with the collateral images as part of the temple.

Mithuna, the state of being a couple, is given shape on the walls of the temple as a symbol of the union of Puruṣa and Prakṛti, of Essence and Substance. The entire science and art of love-making have gone into the form of these infinitely varied symbols of the moment of union. Similarly, all the Attractions of the Enchantress, the Great Goddess, are laid out in the numberless images of her maids and messengers (or angels), the celestial women of the gods, so that by succumbing to their charms man is brought closer to Her. One Ākarṣiṇī (attraction, or Dūtī, messenger, angel) of the Great Goddess is seen here looking into a round metal mirror while touching her hair. Her left hand rests on that part of the head where the highest centre of Consciousness has its place. The mirror holds the reflex of the perfection of that world of which the Surasundarī is a messenger.

123. *Śārdūlas and Surasundarī* on wall of innermost sanctuary in ambulatory of Viśvanātha Temple, Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh. 1002. Height of images: about 3 ft.

The organization of the inner wall of the internal ambulatory of the Garbhagṛiha follows, with necessary modifications, that of the outer wall. The Apsaras or Surasundarī on the narrow pilaster resumes and complements in the torsion of her posture those of the Śārdūlas in the adjacent recesses. The horned, leonine animal is an equivalent symbol of Śakti, the power active in nature. The figure of man who clings to its tail, fights against, is threatened and protected by, and knows how to ride, the animal, is a sculptural commentary on the collateral themes.

124. *Śiva, Lord of the Dance*, from Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh; now Gwalior Fort, Archaeological Museum. Ninth to tenth century. Height: about 5 ft.

The ten-armed image (arms on left broken) dances in Aindra posture (cf. Plate 110), the right arm thrown staff-like (*daṇḍa hasta*) across the body, the left raised as if in *abhaya mudrā*. The other arms on the right proper show the trident (*triśūla*), emblem of the triple hierarchy of manifestation, and the three qualities (*guṇa*) of which the manifest world is made; the next hand in *patākā hasta* conveys power; it shows at the same time that the dance has just begun. The next upper hand holds the Damaru drum, which emits the primeval sound of creation, the upper hands hold the Serpent. The back slab by which the arms are connected suggests the expanse of the skin of the Elephant demon killed by Śiva and raised triumphantly.

Between the dancing feet of the god emerges a small figure whose hands repeat the posture of Śiva's main hands and whose hair is also dressed as Jaṭāmukuṭa. It shows the devotee Bhṛṅgī rapt in his imitation of Śiva. On the right, offering horizontal support to the elevation of the dancing image, the diminutive bull Nandin and a Ṛiṣi raise their admiring heads towards the dancing god.

125. *Statue of a lion*, from Suhaniya, Madhya Pradesh; now Gwalior Fort, Archaeological Museum. Eleventh century. Height: 7 ft.

The Lion as Vāhana of Śakti is a symbol animal (see whiskers, mane and whorl on the foreleg) related to Śārdūla and Leogryph (Plates 13 and 123) in shape and power. Such statues had their place at the corners of the terrace of the temple or flanking the steps of the terrace. On the rectangular pedestal are carved the Ten Avatārs of Viṣṇu and six divinities.

126. *Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Temple*, detail of wall, Udayapur, Madhya Pradesh. About 1059–1080.

Only the main pier on each side runs parallel with the square Garbhagṛiha in the interior. All the other buttresses, shown in the Plate between two main piers, project at an angle. The foliated star shape of the plan of this type of temple allows for ever-changing chiaroscuro effects in deep vertical chases and infinitesimally graded recesses between mouldings. The heavy orchestration of the architectural theme drowns the sculptures.

The socle is divided in three major horizontal sections.

The relatively low wall with images, and vertical panels of the wave motif, between the foliated edges of the pilasters, is overshadowed by successive capitals. A broad and half-shaded recess girdles the wall and extends its height up to the array of multiple rooflets of the Śikhara.

127. *Śri Vībhatsā.* Temple of the 64 Yoginīs. Bheraghat, Madhya Pradesh. Tenth century. Height: 5 ft. 4 in.

The Yoginīs, associated with Śiva, represent the Mothers. Yoginī Vībhatsā is enthroned on a flaming lotus seat, her left leg is raised, half seated, half dancing; her full face looks upward with rolling eyes and mouth open; her right foot rests on a lotus and steps as it were on a bearded, warrior-like figure stretched on the pedestal. He is raised and turned towards the goddess, who does not see him. Two emaciated ghouls, one standing, one kneeling, are to the right of the goddess. Only her left arm is preserved, raised with a shield in hand, the other arms and the right breast are broken.

128. *Bust of Yoginī* (Fragment), from Temple of the 64 Yoginīs, Bheraghat; now University Museum, Philadelphia. Tenth century. Height: 22¼ in.

129. *Surasundarī* (Fragment); Tewar, near Bheraghat. About eleventh century. Height: about 3 ft.

This messenger of the Great Goddess opens her garment and reveals her body. The right hand holds the end of the cloth.

130. *Mohinī(?) with a parrot.* Cakreśvara Temple, Sopara, near Bombay. Late eleventh century. Part view. Height of image: about 4 ft.

The heavily bejewelled image of this celestial represents the last phase of creative monumental stone sculpture in the Deccan. Separately articulated volumes are joined and superimposed. They cohere by the rhythmic poise which holds the mood of the image. The image has also been identified as Yoganidrā or Rambhā. The fresh flowers seen in the photograph are an offering to the image.

131. *Pillars in Sabhā-Maṇḍapa* of Sūrya Temple, Modhera, North Gujarat. 1026–1027.

The pillars are octagonal at the base and circular at the top. Three tiers of relief panels correspond to the division of the wall (on right; the latter is not shown in the plate). Each tier has eight niches framed by pilasters and an arch surmounted by a flamboyant device. Statuesque Surasundarīs occupy the high niches of the lowest tier. Narrative scenes from the Purāṇas or pure symbols such as the 'Life tree' fill the niches of the upper tiers. The compositions are full of agitation. The sandstone—from Porbandhar—is badly weathered and all details are effaced.
A bracket was fitted into the mortice hole in the pillar on the right. The horizontal projection from the wall on the right is a seat.

Plates 132–140 illustrate Jain Temples and sculptures in South Rājasthān.

132. *Neminātha Temple*, Kumbhariā, South Rājasthān. White marble. Eleventh century.

The Vimāna with its projecting socle, piers and balcony-like niches, is shaded by eaves. The Śikhara of this Jain temple with the clusters of diminutive Śikharas is a variation on a smaller scale of the theme of Plate 121. The height of the tiers of rooflets and Āmalakas on the superstructure of the Hall (*maṇḍapa*) is proportionate to the Śikhara. The temple is enclosed by a wall.

133. *Interior of Maṇḍapa*, Pārśvanātha Temple, Kumbhariā, South Rājasthān. White marble. Eleventh century.

The masterly disposition of the pure shapes of the middle pillars, heightened by capitals and sur-capitals, leads to the entrance of the central sanctuary of this Jain temple. Raised on steps, the dark Garbhagṛiha is framed by a high threshold, broad door jambs and high overdoor. The smaller door openings are those of cells of images in the internal cloister of this temple hall. Its ceiling has for its centre a shallow circular dome (Plate 132 shows the exterior shape of such a dome). Pillars and arches of minute elaboration flank the concentrated simplicity of the forms of approach in this Jain temple.
The Maṇḍapa of the Pārśvanātha Temple in Kumbhariā puts to unique use the white Makrana marble of Rājasthān. The gleaming spaciousness of the hall, within the internal cloister of cells—evolved particularly in Jain temples—is without equal.

134. *Cloister* showing entrance to cells of images; south wall of Maṇḍapa, Vimala Vasahī, Dilwara, Mt. Abu, South Rājasthān. White marble. Twelfth century. Width: about 5 ft.

The central portion of this temple (cf. Plate 135) was completed, it appears, prior to the surrounding cloister and other parts of the Maṇḍapa.
The series of door openings, each leading to a small cell and enshrined image, is relieved by door frames and pilasters. Each door frame, being the entrance to a sanctuary, carries, if in abbreviation, the symbols of the entrance (see Plate 48); each of its sections is an aliquot part of the total height. The threshold is raised; its half-round shape alludes to that of the lotus flower; the sides are carved with circles and leaves of the lotus stalk.

135. *Part of small dome* in centre of Maṇḍapa, showing two out of the eight struts with goddesses holding swords. Vimala Vasahī (Temple of Ādinātha). White marble. Dilwara, Mt. Abu, South Rājasthān. About 1031. Height of strut: about 3 ft.

The trabeate dome is conceived as 'lotus'. Its second tier, at the bottom of the plate, has sixteen half-lotuses. Half of each flower is hollowed in deep relief and the cusps of these shell-like motifs throw deep shadows on the ribbed and vaulted tier which they occupy. From the middle of such a 'half-lotus' a pendentive, carved in the round, protrudes into space whereas each alternate half-lotus is hidden behind a radial strut which carries the figure of a dancing goddess. The next tier of the dome is replete with a concatenation of flying spirits. While this tier is also partly covered by the struts their points rest on the petals of an inner concentric lotus. From its centre the central lotus pendant hangs in the space of the dome.
The several motifs are bound together by the axial struts. Against back-slabs and supported on socles, the dancers execute the movements of their dance. Each dancer is accompanied by a diminutive male figure and by her tree. In her raised right hand she brandishes a sword. The dancers may be associated with a Mahāvidyā, such as the sixth or the thirteenth Vidyādevī, out of the sixteen Vidyādevīs or Tāntrik, spell-binding goddesses of the Jains.

136. *The Story of Princess Sudarśanā and the Samalī Vihāra Tīrtha.* Neminātha Temple, Kumbhariā, South Rājasthan. Eleventh century. Height: 2 ft. 1 in.

A merchant prince, Seth Dhaneśvar, from Broach, arrived at the court of the King of Ceylon. Princess Sudarśanā, on hearing him recite a certain *mantra* (magic formula), fell into a faint and recollected her previous incarnation as a kite. In that shape she had lived in a banyan tree in the forest of Koraṇṭa, near Broach, on the bank of the river Narmadā. Once, in the rainy season, it rained so heavily the kite was starved and had no food for seven days. The kite flew to the city, where it picked up a piece of meat in the courtyard of a

hunter, flew back and perched in the banyan tree. The hunter pursued the bird and shot it. Convulsed with pain the kite fell from the tree. At that moment a Jain holy teacher saw the bird in its plight, sprinkled it with water and recited the Navakāra *mantra* (the magic formula which Dhaneśvar had recited). The kite listened devoutly, died and, as a result of the *mantra*, was reborn as Princess Sudarśanā.
From that moment the princess developed a growing distaste for the life of the court and her mind was set on visiting Broach. The King of Ceylon equipped her with a fleet. Accompanied by Seth Dhaneśvar, she reached Broach and went to the forest of Koraṇṭa, where in her life as bird she had been given the Navakāra *mantra*. She then endowed many religious establishments and this place of pilgrimage became known as Samalī Vihāra Tīrtha.
The story of the kite occupies the right half of the relief. The river Narmadā fills the larger part of the left half of the composition. Like a serpent it winds next to the banyan tree and carries the boat to its destination. There the boat is seen once more, with the princess and her retinue, encircled by the waves, while the figure of Seth Dhaneśvar appears framed by the gate of the city of Broach.

137. *Goddess Sarasvatī saluted by the two architects who built the Vimala Vasahī.* Roundel in dome of ceiling of Maṇḍapa; white marble. Vimala Vasahī, Dilwara, Mt. Abu, South Rājasthān. Twelfth century. Diameter: about 4½ ft.

The Goddess of Learning is enthroned in *lalitāsana*, holding her body erect; her pendent arms show on the right the gesture of boon-giving (*varada*) together with a rosary and a water vessel in the left; book and lotus are in her upper left and right; celestials hover above them, whereas two small figures (of donors?) kneel at the bottom of the throne.
The bearded architect to the right of the goddess is inscribed as Loyaṇa Sūtradhāra, the other holding the measuring rod is inscribed as Sūtradhāra Kelā. The goddess, two architects and also the small donor figures are supported on socles above lotus leaves and stalks.

138. *Scenes from the marriage party of Ariṣṭanemi, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara.* Detail of ceiling panel. Lūṇa Vasahī (Temple of Neminātha), Dilwara, Mt. Abu, South Rājasthān. White marble. 1231. Width: entire panel, about 8 ft.

The broad ceiling panel (half only of its width is seen in the Plate) in the ambulatory of the Lūṇa Vasahī shows in eight compartments the dancers, the riders on horse-back and on elephants, and, in the fourth compartment, the stables of the animals, the palace gate, and the chariot of Ariṣṭanemi. The relief is deeply undercut.

139. *Scene from the early life, in Gokul, of Kṛiṣṇa, the cousin of Neminātha.* Detail; on vertical surface of beam in cloister of Maṇḍapa. Lūṇa Vasahī, Dilwara, Mt. Abu. White marble. 1231. Height: about 10 in.

The stable of the horses, the gate structure and its guardian, and the palace are similar to Plate 138, upper section.

140. '*Ādipāla killing the Buffalo demon.*' White marble. The relief stands in the open, overlooking a pond, the Mandākinī Kuṇḍa. Achalgarh, Mt. Abu, South Rājasthān. Thirteenth century. Height: 7 ft.

Ādipāla, the first Paramāra King, killed a buffalo-headed demon who used to drink during the night the sacred waters of the Fire fountain, to guard which the Paramāra was created. The figure of the Paramāra King, as hunter, is carved on a stele which is cut out around his figure. Next to it and against a pillar-like trunk the king holds his bow of buffalo horn. The top of the stele is carved with mango fruits, etc. The fingers of the right hand show recent damage. At present the figure is identified with the Paramāra king Dhārāvarṣadeva.

141. *Sādhu.* Alampur; now Alampur Museum, South Deccan. Black basalt. About twelfth century. Height: 2 ft. 9 in.

The sage, seated in the yogic *Kūrmāsana*, holds a rosary in his right hand in *vyākhyāna mudrā*, 'giving exposition'; his left rests on his knee and holds a book and a flower. The heavily built figure wears a sacred thread of *Rudrākṣa* beads, bead armlets, a gourd vessel is slung on a rope over his left shoulder.
The face (damaged) of this Śaiva sage is framed by a coiffure of matted hair and a pointed beard. The irregular back slab of the stele is inscribed.

142. *Mukhaliṅga,* from Nemad; now Nagpur Museum; black basalt, highly polished. About eleventh century or earlier. Height: 22½ in.

The Liṅga has one face; it is an Ekamukha liṅga. The face here is that of Bhairava. A diadem of skulls circles the liṅga, of which the crown of matted hair forms a frontal shield.

143. *Apsaras;* fragment. From North Bengal; black, carboniferous slate; now private collection, Calcutta. Twelfth century. Height: 6 in.

The Apsaras or Vṛikṣa Devatā has the breadth of her volumes wreathed in beaded ornaments and undulating garments. The modelling of the flat and full face is concentrated on its edges, particularly on the forehead. It is outlined by doubly curved brows. Under their wide arcs the long eyes slant upwards and look down. The lips smile their fullness away in a flutter of curves.
The goddess holds her right arm raised above her head. Pearl festoons, gathered in lotus bud crests, lie on her smooth hair. It is tied on the right, in a long chignon with a string of pearls. Large, circular, beaded earrings, with lotus flowers in high relief in the centre, a torque and a long necklace which clings to the curves of her breasts, are stronger accents than the triple fold of her neck and the waves of the shawl which covers her breasts. On the right the folds of a garment underline the torsion and amplitude of the figure.

144. *Warrior;* fragment of Gond memorial sculpture; basalt; now Raipur Museum, Madhya Pradesh. About twelfth century or later. Height: 17 in.

The warrior holds sword and shield. The long ends of his loincloth are seen in front and back of his figure. He is bearded and the central hair tuft on his head is braided. He wears scanty ornaments, including nose rings (?).

145. *Celestial Musician.* Sūrya Temple, Koṇāraka, Orissa; sandstone. 1238–64.

On a floor of the superstructure of the Maṇḍapa the cymbal player is one amongst many colossal statues which, though wholly carved in the round, are wholly part of the architecture of this temple.

146. *The Kiss.* Part of Mithuna image. Sūrya Temple; Koṇāraka, Orissa; sandstone. 1238–64.

The coarse texture of the sandstone and the salt air of Konarak—which lies on the seashore—have led to a weathering of the surface without diminishing the subtle overtones of the carving.

147. *Dreams of Devānandā.* Painting on palm leaf. Gold on red ground; from Gujarat; now Baroda Museum. Late

fourteenth century. (Englargement of part of miniature.) From a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra. Height: 2⅜ in.

The Brāhmaṇī Devānandā rests fitfully on her couch in the night when Mahāvīra was to take the form of an embryo in her womb. In that night she had the fourteen auspicious great dreams.
The dreams not shown in the Plate, include in the upper register: elephant, bull, lion, the anointing of Lakṣmī and the brimming Vase. Three further dreams are shown: The sun and the moon and a full-blown lotus flower rimmed by a beaded circle (the lotus lake?) in the compartment where the diademed woman lies, wearing diaphanous garments, on a flowered couch under a canopy. Her wide-open eyes and posture are as fully awake as those of the maid standing at the foot of the bed.

148. *Nativity of Mahāvīra.* Illustration of a palm-leaf manuscript of the Kalpasūtra; from Gujarat; now Muktivijayajī Library, Ahmedabad. 1370.

Queen Triśalā, into whose womb the embryo of Mahāvīra had been transferred by the command of Indra (see note on Plate 147), holds the babe in her arm. The queen rests on a bed with curved legs. There is a thick mattress covered with patterned cloth and a bolster with dot-rosettes. The queen wears a tight-fitting bodice, a scarf with ends aflutter on right and left, and a lower garment with a pattern of Haṃsa birds. She also wears a diadem and jewels. A brazier and water jar are under the bed.

149. *Nāṭakī.* Image on buttress of wall. Neminātha Temple, Rāṇakpur, S. Rājasthān; white marble. Mid-fifteenth century. Height: about 24½ in.

The figure of the dancer and her attendant are almost carved in the round. They are supported on a console and set against slender flanking pilasters with high sur-capitals of Dhatūrā foliage design. The thin, horizontal mouldings of the pilaster, and behind the dancer, are details of architectural sculpture which contribute to the breaking up of the sculptural shape. A similar fragmentation of form is seen in the relation of the ornaments to the body of the dancer and in the contrast of the flat surfaces (the ring and capitals above the head of the dancer) and the round volumes, with the deep shadows in the depth of the carving.
With her right hand the dancer thrusts her weapon into the mouth of the small male figure who writhes below her raised leg and takes hold of her scarf, while her left arm is raised above her head and the hand shows the gesture *catura*, which signifies beckoning, or *mukula*, which signifies lotus and also the god of Love with his five arrows.
An iconographically similar image is also on one of the piers of the Pārśvanātha temple in Rāṇakpur, of the same date. The dancer may be associated with one of the Vidyādevīs (Naradattā or Vairoṭyā), the spell-binding Tāntrik goddesses of the Jains (cf. Plate 135).

150. *Karaikkal Ammai, a woman saint, playing cymbals.* Bronze image from Tanjore, South India; now in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. About fifteenth to seventeenth century. Height: 16¼ in.

The figure has the appearance of an attendant of the Goddess Kālī. She has wide-open eyes of terror and a big mouth set with teeth and tusks. Neck and chest are translated into patterns of emaciation. Shoulders and elbows are set with knobs suggestive of the bones of the skeleton, so are the knees, whereas the rest of the body, though extremely thin, is rounded. The bleak face is neither emaciated nor slender. The figure appears more lean and lugubrious by the juxtaposition of the roundness of belly and waist, the patterns of emaciation of chest, neck and shoulders and the rigidly erect full-cheeked, staring face. Hands and feet are in natural, easy postures.

151. *Central Śikhara of Chaumukh Temple*, Rāṇakpur, South Rājasthan. White marble. 1439.

The central Śikhara of the shrine of Ādinātha dominates the domes of the halls on the four sides of the central sanctuary. The Chaumukh or 'four-faced' temple, a vast architectural compound, is dedicated to Ādinātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara or Saviour of the Jains. Four subsidiary shrines occupy the corners of the square plan of the temple with its surrounding cloister and high fortress-like walls, the whole being raised on a high socle.
The Śikhara belongs to the clustered variety of the Nāgara type (see Plates 121, 132). The theme of the balconies is carried on in three storeys of the superstructure. Their open spaces and projecting roofs cut up the mass of the curvilinear Śikhara.

152. *Mān Singh's Palace.* Part of South Face; Gwalior Fort, Madhya Pradesh. About 1500.

The division of the wall into storeys or horizontal bands, the architectural motifs of the main storey, the cusped arches, projecting rooflet and punctuating rafter ends are Indian, their application to the flat wall is Islamic. The flatness of the wall however is negated by the relative nearness of the cylindrical piers and the aedicula on the top floor. These volumes again are covered for the greater part with patterns of glazed tiles. The palmette band at the bottom is Islamic in design, the row of Haṃsa birds is Indian and so are the panels on the top floor. These are tile versions, in radiant blues and yellow, of Rājput paintings.

153. *The Library, Mān Singh's Palace;* Gwalior Fort. About 1500.

Whatever was the original purpose of the hall now called the library, the rhythmic alternation of convex and concave curves of traveate arches, the flat ceiling with heavy stone rafters, the small door at the far end with its frame and large tympanon arch reminiscent of early 'Buddhist' architecture, combine in an effect of intimacy and representation which belongs to palace architecture of traditional Indian design.

154. *Dīpa Lakṣmī.* A lamp-bearer, brass; from Anhilwada-Patan, North Gujarat; now Baroda Museum. Late seventeenth century. Height: 14½ in.

The elongated post-like figure is hemmed by the flat rims of the garment, the edge of the outline being set with thorn-like motifs of a formalized treatment. Lamp and pedestal are missing.

155. *Veṇu-Gopāla;* brass; from Bengal; now William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. About seventeenth century.

This form of the image of Kṛiṣṇa as flute player (Veṇu-Gopāla) is typical of Bengal sculpture of the last centuries.

156. *Tree of Life and Knowledge;* bronze; from Southern India; now William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Seventeenth century. Height: 2 ft.

The tree with its fourteen branches, their birds and buds, is flanked at the base by two bulls; two monkey-headed figures cling to its stem; higher up on the stem, where the third pair of branches springs forth, is a lotus-sun-wheel and, above it, a serpent, its tail coiled in two loops, raises its five heads up to the third pair of branches from top. (Cf. Fig. 1e.)

NOTES ON THE COLOUR PLATES

I. *Head of Apsaras.* Detail of wall painting on rock; in Veranda of monastery (cave XVII). Ajanta, Mahārāṣhṭra. Later part of fifth century.

The head of the flying celestial is painted in front of a conglomeration of cloud shapes (not shown in Plate I). The vaporous texture of their pale colours sets off the firmly modelled face aglow in ruddy complexion against the trim volume of the headdress and the gleaming accents of the eyes and jewellery. The red of the lower lip has suffered discoloration.
The technique of wall paintings contemporary with Ajanta is fully explained in the Viṣṇudharmottara.

II. *The meeting of Irandatī, the Nāga princess* (on a swing) *and the Yakṣa general Pūrṇaka.* His magic horse is on the left. Detail of Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka; wall painting on rock, in monastery (cave II), Ajanta, Mahārāṣhṭra. About late fifth century.

The warm tonality in which the episode is embedded belongs to a large, synchronized narrative painting, whose spatial structure is reasoned in its many parts. The scenes hold in their architectural framework the moods in which the figures are steeped.

III. *Buddha expounding the Doctrine to Yaśas, the first lay member of the Buddhist community.* Detail of painting on rock-cut pillar in temple (cave X), Ajanta, Mahārāṣhṭra. Late fifth to sixth century.

In this single composition the white-robed figure of the disciple[1] and the seated figure of the Buddha are balanced by a kneeling figure of a monk in ochre robe at the bottom of the painting, and by the luminous, spreading foliage of a tree (these are not shown in Plate III). Although the painting lacks the mastery of Plate I and the competence of Plate II, its conception is large. The sloping ground against which the figures are outlined is strewn with flowers (cf. Plate II and Fig. 10), whether the scenes are in the open air or in the interior of buildings.

IV. *Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur.* Bijapur, Deccan; now Lallgarh Palace, Bikaner, Rājasthān. About 1591. Painting on paper.

The large figure of the young Muslim King and his retinue behind him appear to emerge into the painting from a white ground and above the top of verdant trees. This manifestation of royal splendour is painted with the resources of the classical Indian tradition which had come down from the days of Ajanta. Elements of European Renaissance painting are assimilated to it. Persian décor overlays the gold of the robes. The dense tapestry of leafy and flowering tree tops, in the lower part of the painting, takes the place of the flower-strewn 'mountain' slope of the Ajanta type. The stripe of tempestuous clouds on top owes to Europe its shading on the left of the canopy, whereas, to the right of it, their cusped clusters are characteristic of clouds, in the devolution of Indian painting, as in Elura.

The sumptuous grandeur of the painting is thrown into relief by the white middle zone which functions as ground, on the right, and as colour of the costume of the figures, on the left.

V. *Kāmodī Rāginī;* Ahmadnagar, Deccan; now Lallgarh Palace, Bikaner, Rājasthān. About 1595.

Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs are melodies which 'colour'[2] the heart and mind of man. While these musical modes are being heard their magical sounds evoke their archetypal images. These are painted according to iconographic types, in various styles. In the painting from Ahmadnagar, an Indian love scene in a Persian spring is shrilly capped by architectural motifs whose colour relates them to Plate IV. Renaissance and classical Indian elements are absent from the painting.
The lines on top of the page state that the Rāgiṇī is represented in the painting as a young lady. Though in love she shows anger. Her eyebrows are curved. She is dressed in red and wears a yellow bodice. 'As if Rāginī Kāṃdhodī were angry she turns away.'

VI. *Virahiṇī* (?). Basohli, Western Himālaya; now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Beginning of eighteenth century. About $7\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ in.

The night of the stormy scene is lit by the soft light of gold and blue of the costume of the two women. The warmth of their complexion blends with the colour of the trees and is heightened by the abundance of blossoms of the tree of the heroine. Her one hand clasps a branch and the other holds a flower while the musician with her Vīṇā addresses the Lady. Her motif is that of the tree-woman (Plate 24). The composition of the painting is allied to that which is typical of Rāgiṇī Saraṅgī but seems to express the feeling of love in separation. Its response is shown in the flight of birds, the approach of the gazelle and the total form of the painting.
The school of Basohli in the Western Himālaya belongs to a group of schools which produced paintings such as Plate V from the Deccan and Fig. 25 from Central India. Arabesques of cloud vapour fill the atmosphere; other Pahārī paintings (*i.e.* paintings produced in the Western Himālaya) base similar designs on the shape of smoke.

VII. *Mahārāja Kesari Singh on horse-back overcoming a lioness.* Bikaner; now Lallgarh Palace, Bikaner, Rājasthān. About 1715–20.

Subdued in colour and melodious in its gliding, if somewhat arid, line the painting discharges its debt to Mogul painting by reintegrating its coinage into an ancient symbolic context. The Rājput ruler on horse-back, an embodiment of solar power, overcomes a lioness, whose solar nature has to yield to his attack. The triangular composition of their group is resumed by the mountain, the movements of yielding, and of ascending, power are translated in the curves of two storm-tossed trees. The lines of delicate bamboos, or reeds, in the background meet those of the rain falling from a sun-lined cloud configuration. In the foreground of the mountain slope the reeds grow on the bank of a lotus pond.

[1]The white garment and elaborate coiffure of the standing figure show him to be a layman and not a monk.

[2]*Rāga* is derived from *rañja*, to colour, according to Mataṅga, of the fifth century.

VIII. *Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardanī: The Great Goddess killing the Buffalo demon.* Bundi; now Private Collection, New York. Mid-eighteenth century. 11 × 10 in.

The Victory of the Great Goddess over the Buffalo Demon is shown here in mid-space (cf. Plate 86). The Buffalo hits the verdant slope at the edge of the world while his demoniac self emerges from his slashed neck. The white Lion of the Goddess attacks the black buffalo from behind. The Lion has a dog's face and leafy wings and flies through the air as does the demon's 'Chinese' hat, above the lotus crown of the goddess.
The landscape of pink hills of Persian ancestry, of lakes and verdant slopes rises on right and left, with bamboo clusters and a solitary banana tree towards a sunrise-fantasy of colour. In this frame the scene of the primeval combat is set. The intensity of the turquoise colour of the ground appears deepened by small rocks lit up from no visible light and receding into uncertain distance.
Out of stage trappings of Western perspective, vestiges of Persian motifs such as the rocks or of Chinese elements such as the hat and the leafy wings of the Lion, a new form arises in the school of Bundi in the mid-eighteenth century. It has for its ground the compact clarity of the colour surface of Indian painting in the preceding centuries of the second millennium. The rotund solidity of the bodies within the firm curves of their outlines goes back to the classical tradition of Indian painting. An immediate inner vision of the life-and-death-giving myth welds together the several elements of the painting.



Woman with Rose. Brush Drawing. About 1875.
Kalighat, Calcutta

APPENDIX OF ILLUSTRATIONS

NOTES ON APPENDIX OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. *Amulets or seals with animal symbols.* Steatite. Mohenjo-daro, Sind; now National Museum of India, New Delhi. About second half or later part of third millennium B.C. (*a*) Group of horned tiger rearing and turning back on horned, hoofed and tailed woman, flanked by tree. (*b*) Humped bull, and line of glyphs. (*c*) Tiger-man in ritual dance posture wearing one-horn and two-wave lines and long tress; glyphs above on left. (*d*) Two-headed animal, bull shown two-horned, long-necked antelope-like bull head one-horned. Fish above on right. (*e*) Aśvattha tree with nine branches, five pointing upwards. Pairs of loops and long-necked, serpentine bull heads, each one-horned and turned back, issue symmetrically from disk with seven (?) dots on stem of tree. Glyph symbols below.

Fig. 2. *Mother and twins.* Terracotta. Harappa, Punjab; now National Museum of India, New Delhi. Second half or later part of third millennium B.C.

Fig. 3. *Statue of priest or god.* Fragment. Stone. Height: about 7 in. Mohenjo-daro; now National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Second half or later part of third millennium B.C.

Fig. 4. *Male torso;* back view. Red limestone, polished. Height: 3¾ in. Harappa, Punjab; now National Museum of India, New Delhi. About 2400–2000 B.C.

Fig. 5. *The Great Stūpa.* Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh. Middle of second century B.C. Gateways: first century B.C.

Fig. 6. *Scenes in Kapilavastu.* Above: Conception dream of Queen Māyā, the mother-to-be of the Buddha; below: Procession of the King to meet his son, the Buddha, on his return to the city. Upper part of relief panel on pillar of East Gate, Great Stūpa, Sanchi. First century B.C.

Fig. 7. *The Mallas of Kuśinagara celebrate* with dance and music in front of stūpa, their share in the relics of the Buddha. Lower part of panel on pillar of North Gate, Great Stūpa, Sanchi. First century B.C.

Fig. 8. *The Birth of the Buddha in the Lumbinī grove.* Queen Māyā grasps the branch of a tree while the Buddha (not shown) is born from his mother's side, and is received on a golden net by four gods from the highest heaven. An umbrella, etc. at the top of the tree indicates the presence of the Buddha-child. Panel on coping stone of railing, Amarāvatī, Āndhra Pradesh; now British Museum, London. End of second century A.D., or first half of third century.

Fig. 9. *Temple* with porch (Height: 13 ft.); and pillars of ruined apsidal temple. Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh. Fifth and seventh century respectively.

Fig. 10. *The Austerities of Pārvatī;* end scene of carved wall, Rāmeśvara cave, Elura, Mahārāṣhṭra. Rock-cut. Sixth century. (cf. Plate 98.)
Pillar-like, Pārvatī stands motionless while counting her rosary. Four fires burn around her, the fifth is the fire of the sun. Absorbed in her austerities, which she undergoes in order to win Śiva as her husband, she is shown taking no notice of a beggar who approaches her. Only when the boy has been seized by a water monster (Makara) in the pond nearby, where he had gone to fetch water, is Pārvatī shown having interrupted her absorption. She saves the youth, and draws him out of the jaws of the monster with her left hand. The youth is Śiva and assumes his true form. It is carved on the extreme right, concluding the array of pillar-like shapes which fill the relief in front of a rock wall built of prisms (cf. page 46) and behind the flames of fire on the left which flank the goddess, and the lotus pond on the right.

Fig. 10a. *Gaṇas* (members of the host of divinities attendant upon Śiva) *sporting in the air.* Height: about 1 ft. On architrave of Maṇḍapa, Haccappya-guḍi (Temple No. 9). Aiholi, South-West Deccan (Maisur). Seventh to eighth century.

Fig. 11. *Women, Children and Celestials on their way to worship.* Wall painting in rock-cut monastery (cave II), Ajanta, Mahārāṣhṭra. The paintings in this cave show a great diversity of styles due to the different schools or periods. About late fifth century.

Fig. 12. *The Visit.* Part of damaged painting on ceiling of rock-cut Jain temple (33), Indrasabhā. Elura, Mahārāṣhṭra. About tenth century.

Fig. 13. *Attendant goddess holding lotus.* Height: 16 in. Mathurā; now Mathurā Museum, U.P. About 900.

Fig. 14. *Lakṣmanjī (Viṣṇu) Temple,* with its four subordinate chapels; from East. Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh. 954.

Fig. 15. *Kandarīya, Mahādeo and Kālī Temples.* (Height of Kandarīya Temple: 101 ft. 9 in.). Khajuraho. Eleventh century.

Fig. 16. *Balcony on south face of sanctuary (prāsāda).* Kandarīya Temple, Khajuraho. Eleventh century.

Fig. 17. *Sabhā-maṇḍapa,* and pond with steps and chapels. Temple of Sūrya, the Sun god. Modhera, Gujarat. 1026–27.

Fig. 18. *Perforated balcony screen* with dancers, standards and crenellated border; sandstone. Height: 22 in. Mān Singh's Palace, Gwalior Fort, Madhya Pradesh. About 1500.

Fig. 19. *Baldeva Muni and animals.* Book illumination on palm leaf (Height: about 2 in.) of the Subāhu Kathā. Patan, Gujarat. 1288.

Fig. 20. *The Wives of the Ṛiṣis in the Legend of the Deodar Forest.* Detail of wall painting in Lepakshi Temple, Anantapur, South India. About 1540. (Photograph by A. Atwell.)

Fig. 21. *The Lament of Rādhā.* Detail of illustration of a manuscript on paper of the Gītā Govinda. Mewar, Rājasthān; now Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. About 1500.

Fig. 22. *Pastoral scene from the life of young Kṛiṣṇa* (Height: 8½ in.). From an illustrated Bhāgavata Purāṇa. South-west Rājasthān; formerly collection of Tula Rām, Delhi. About second quarter of seventeenth century.

Fig. 23. *The Jain Monk Harikeśa beaten by youths* (in upper half of painting). Illustration of paper manuscript, Uttarādhyayana Sūtra. Gujarat or South Rājasthān; now Baroda Museum. 1591.

Fig. 24. *The Balky Bullock,* etc. (see Fig. 23). Gujarat or South Rājasthān; now Baroda Museum. 1591.

Fig. 25. *Illustration of the Rasikapriyā* (Height: 9¾ in.). Central India (Bundelkhand?), Madhya Pradesh; now Private Collection, Calcutta. About third quarter of seventeenth century.

Fig. 26. *Reunion of Rāma and Bharata.* Illustrated page (Height: 12¼ in.) of Rāmāyaṇa by Tulsī Dās. Murshidabad, Bengal; now Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta. 1772–75.

Fig. 27. *Gopīs in the grove of Vṛindāvana.* Drawing on paper, coloured (width: 12⅜ in.). Nayagarh, Orissa; now Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta. About 1550.

Fig. 28. *Śiva reveals himself to Pārvatī.* From a sequence of paintings of the Śiva-purāṇa or Kumārasambhava (Height: 10½ in.). Kangra, Western Himālaya; now Private Collection, Calcutta. Second quarter of nineteenth century.

Fig. 29. *Dīpa Lakṣmī;* lamp bearer. Brass. Gujarat; now Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. About eighteenth century.



Fig. 1. *Amulets or seals with animal symbols.* Steatite.
Mohenjo-daro, Sind; now National Museum of India, New Delhi.
Second half of third millennium B.C.



Fig. 2. *Mother and twins.* Terracotta.
Harappa, Punjab; now National Museum of India,
New Delhi. About 2400–2000 B.C.

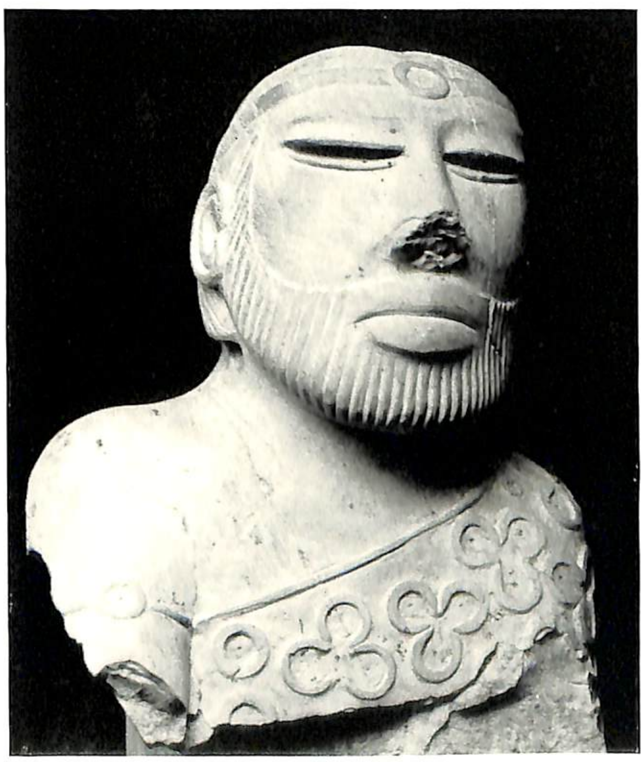


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Fig. 7. *The Mallas of Kuśinagara celebrate with dance and music their share in the relics of the Buddha.* Lower part of panel on pillar of North Gate, Great Stūpa, Sanchi. First century B.C.

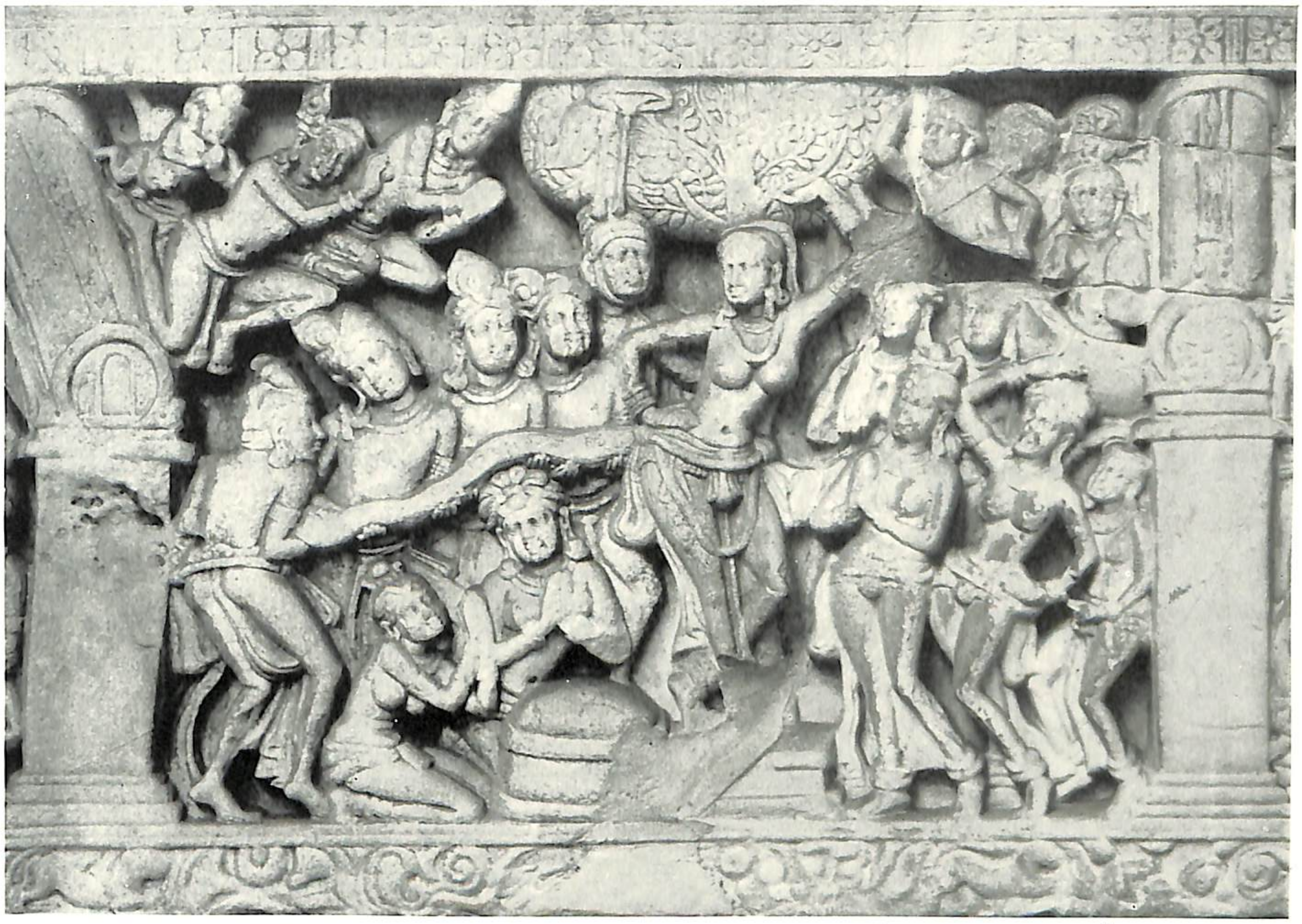


Fig. 8. *The Birth of the Buddha in the Lumbinī Grove.* Panel of coping stone of railing, Amarāvatī, Āndhra Pradesh; now British Museum, London. End of second century A.D. or first half of third century.



Fig. 9. *Temple with porch; and pillars of ruined apsidal temple.* Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh. Fifth and seventh centuries



Fig. 10. *The Austerities of Pārvatī*. End scene of carved wall, Rāmeśvara cave, Elura, Mahārāṣhṭra. Rock-cut. Sixth century (cf. Plate 98)



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Fig. 13. *Attendant goddess holding lotus.* Mathurā; now Mathurā Museum, U.P. About 900

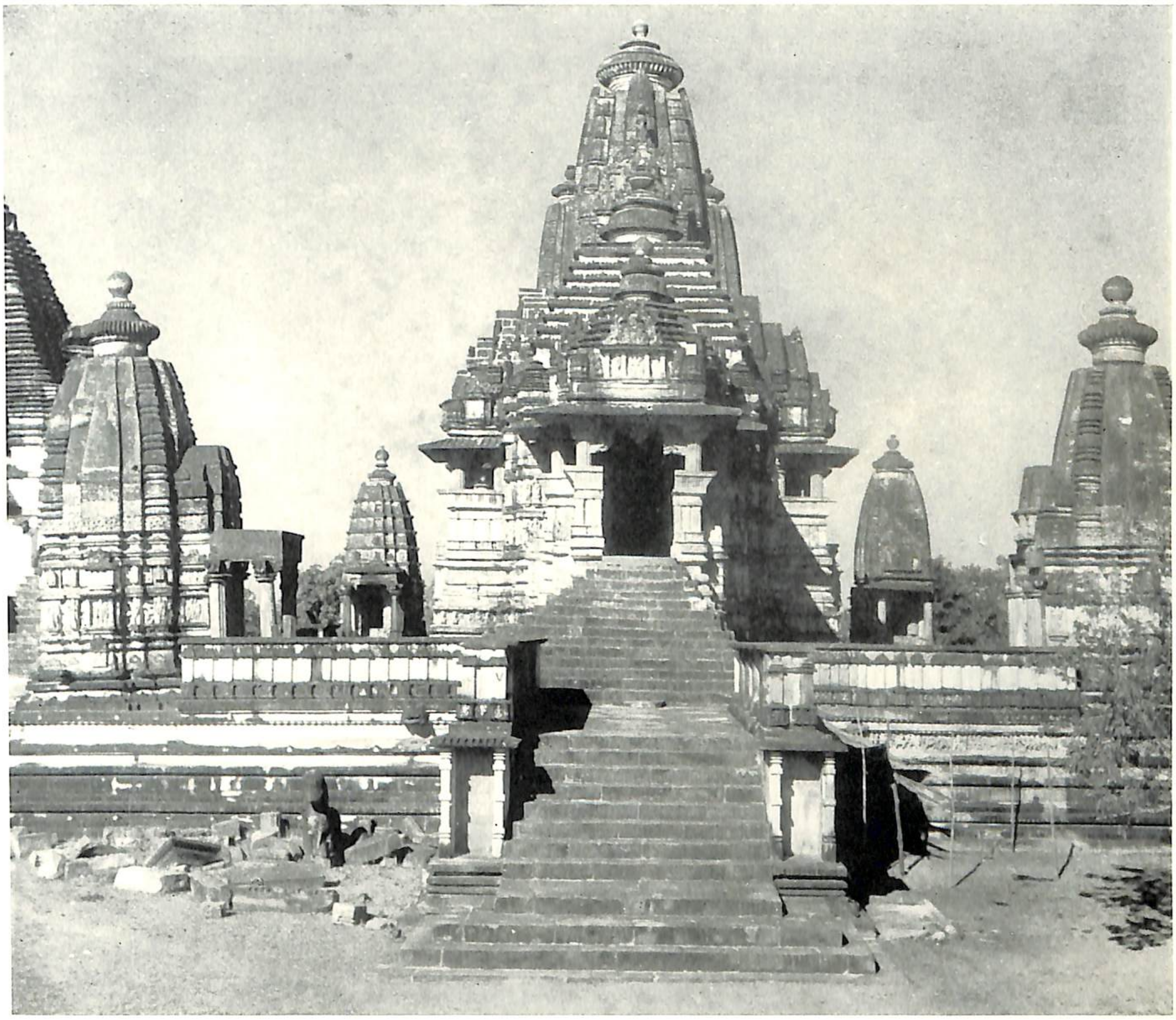


Fig. 14. *Lakṣmanjī (Viṣṇu) Temple, with four chapels;* from East. Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh. 954

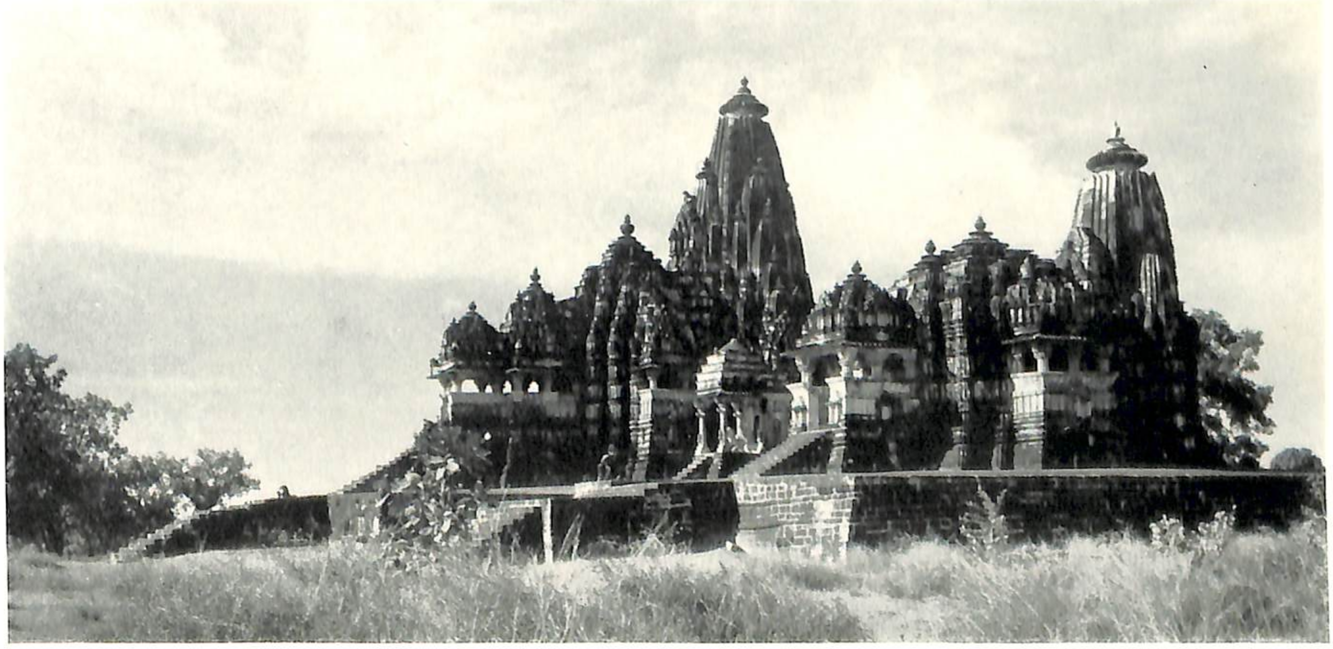


Fig. 15. *Kandarīya, Mahādeo and Kālī Temples.* Khajuraho. Eleventh century

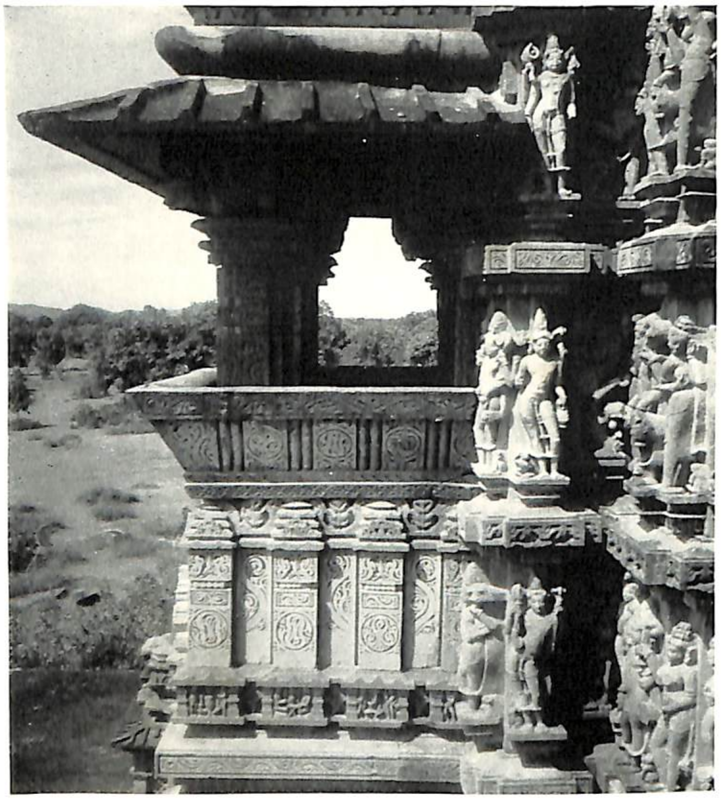


Fig. 16. *Balcony on south face of sanctuary* (prāsāda). Kandarīya Temple, Khajuraho. Eleventh century

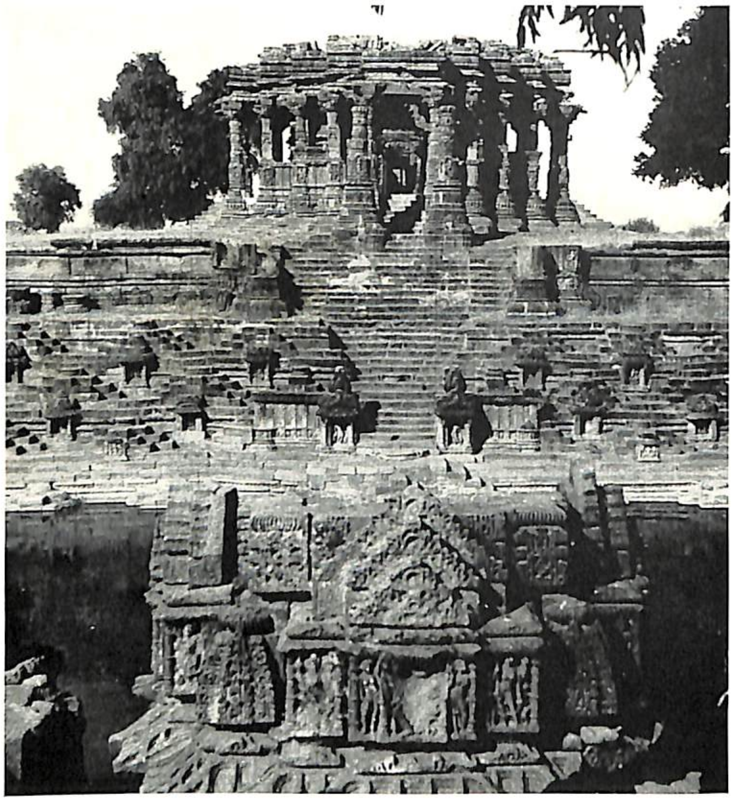


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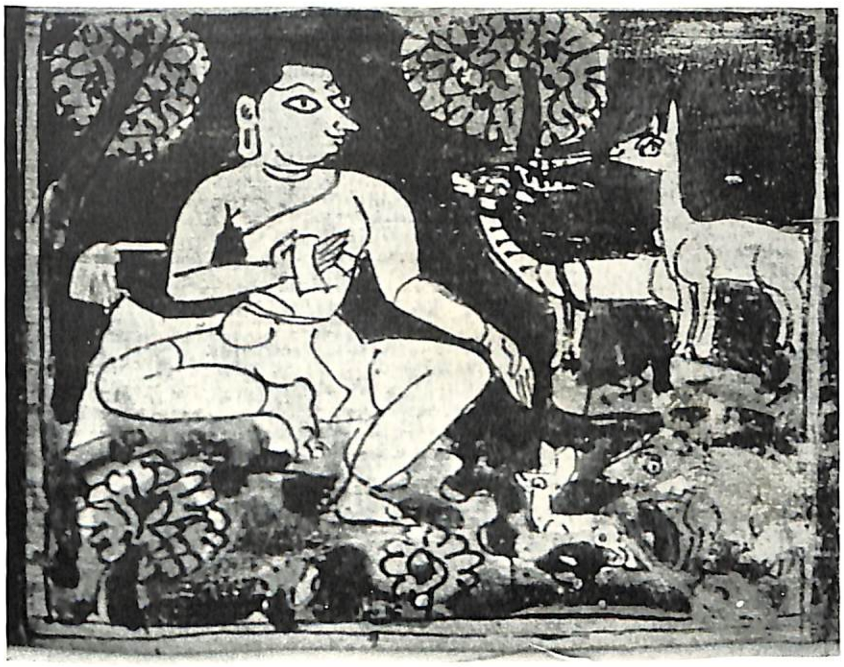


Fig. 19. *Baldeva Muni and animals.*
Book illumination on palm leaf of the Subāhu Kathā.
Patan, Gujarat. 1288



Fig. 20. *The Wives of the Ṛṣis in the Legend of the Deodar Forest.* Detail of painted ceiling, Śrī Naṭarāja temple, Cidambaram, South India. About seventeenth century (?)



Fig. 21. *The Lament of Rādhā.*
Detail of illustration of the Gīta Govinda. Painting on paper.
Mewar; now Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
About 1550



Fig. 22. *Pastoral Scene from the life of young Kṛṣṇa.*
From an illustrated Bhāgavata Purāṇa.
South-west Rājasthān; formerly collection of Tula Rām, Delhi.
About second quarter of seventeenth century



Fig. 23. *The Jain monk Harikeśa beaten by youths.*
Illustration of paper manuscript of the
Uttarādhyayana Sūtra.
Gujarat or South Rājasthān; now Baroda Museum. 1591

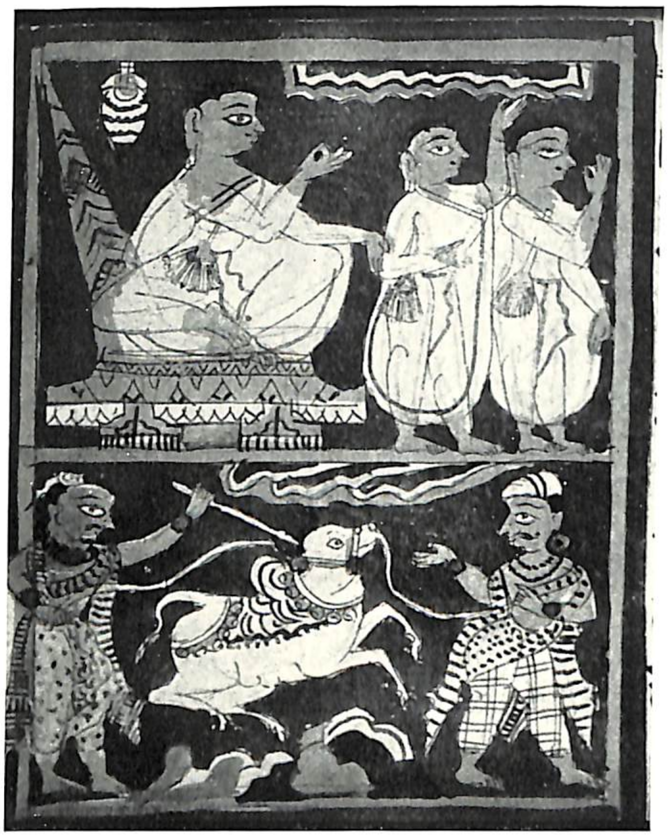


Fig. 24. *The Balky Bullock* (see Fig. 23).
Illustration of paper manuscript of the
Uttarādhyayana Sūtra.
Gujarat or South Rājasthān; now Baroda Museum. 1591

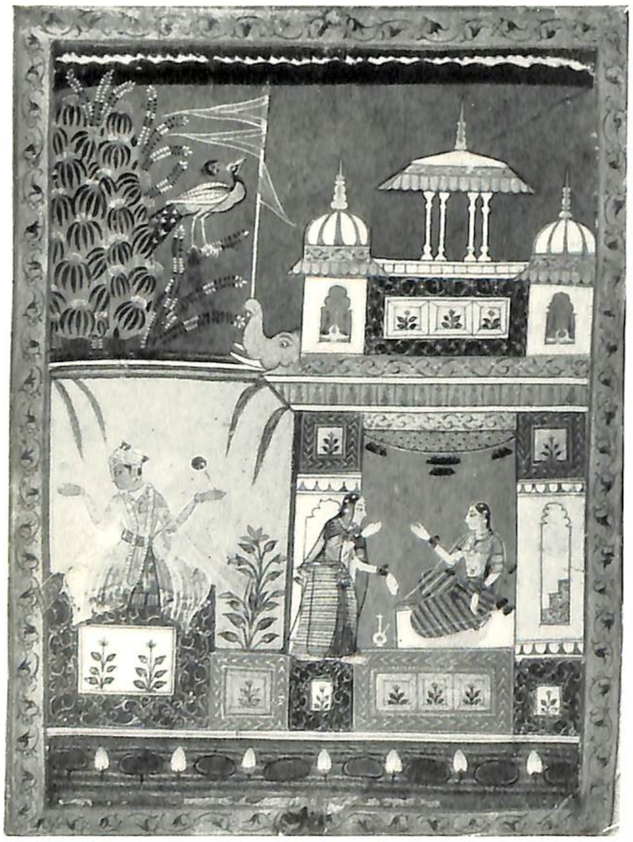


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Central India (Bundelkhand?), Madhya Pradesh;
now Private Collection, Calcutta.
About third quarter of seventeenth century

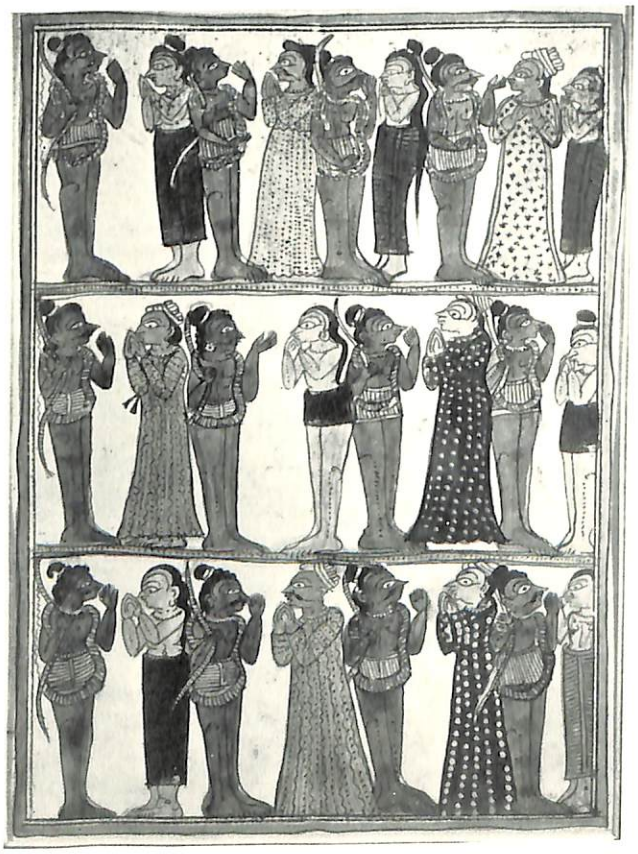


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Illustrated page of Rāmāyaṇa by Tulsī Dās.
Murshidabad, Bengal; now Asutosh Museum of
Indian Art, University of Calcutta. 1772–75



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Fig. 28. *Śiva reveals himself to Pārvatī.* Scene from Śiva-purāṇa or Kumārasambhava.
Kangra, Western Himālaya; now Private Collection, Calcutta. Second quarter of nineteenth century



Fig. 29. *Dīpa Lakṣmī;* lamp bearer. Brass.
From Gujarat; now Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
About eighteenth century

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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